

INSIDE: British Columbia's political strike

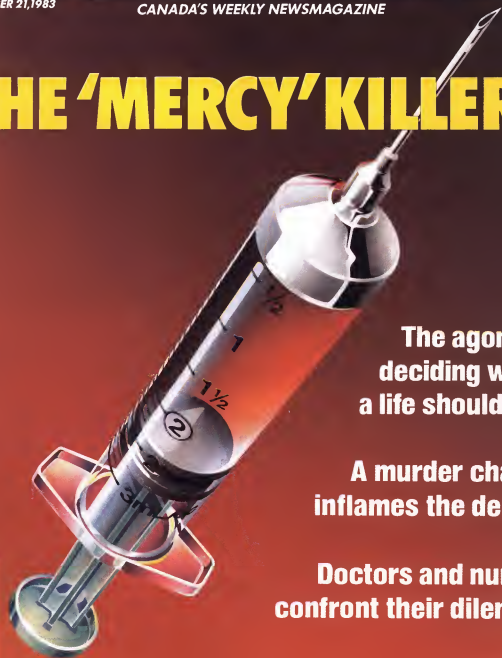
Maclean's

NOVEMBER 21, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

THE 'MERCY' KILLERS



**The agony of
deciding when
a life should end**

**A murder charge
inflames the debate**

**Doctors and nurses
confront their dilemma**





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 21, 1983 VOL. 16 NO. 47

COVER

The "mercy" killers

The tragic morphine-overdose death of Edmonton infant Candace Tashuk and the subsequent murder charge against her Israeli doctor have highlighted the uneasy and mounting debate among doctors, judges and families of the severely ill over the question of who will decide which dying patients will live and which will not. — *Page 24*

COVER ART BY BOB FORD



The eclipse of Arafat

U.S., Israeli and Syrian forces stood poised for new violence on the Middle East, but the real drama centred on the pressure on PLO leader Yasser Arafat. — *Page 32*



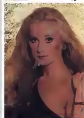
Lutheran Catholicism

He inspired the Protestant Reformation, but 500 years after his birth Martin Luther's adherents are moving closer to Catholicism with the Pope's blessing. — *Page 49*



British Columbia divided

The province endured a second week of strikes as teachers joined civil servants in a dispute that threatened to paralyze British Columbia. — *Page 18*



Fit queen for a crown

Last week 23-year-old Cynthia Kerchuk had already packed her bags to return to Edmonton when she learned that she had become the new Miss Canada. — *Page 49*

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to find that at least one of the writers employed by your magazine still retained an ability to think, analyze and present his views in an informative way.

—SID LITTLE
Toronto

Not so divine in Saskatchewan

Michael Martin of Saskatoon (*Saskatchewan in the Spotlight*, Letters, Oct. 17) credits Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine with throwing Saskatchewan into the international limelight. Martin neglected to mention Devine's other accomplishments: Devine's taste that came most readily to mind are an enormous and unprecedented budget deficit and the slow strangulation of our energy and our development of social services.

—MARY TREMANN
Brampton, Ont.

Say goodbye to forever

As a westerner, I can only view the abolition of the Green rate as a break of contrast designed to provide a windfall for the CNE (Last stand for the CNE, Canada, Oct. 17). Yet there seems just cause for some adjustment to a rate that is out of reality with today's costs and worth of some eye if the CNE wishes to modify this unconditional agreement—it once signed "forever"—I be-

lieve another aspect of that agreement needs to be renegotiated as well. I suggest that for every percentage increase in the freight rate, one per cent of the total lands granted to the fledgling railway be returned to the Crown. This returned property could then be set in trust, leased, and the monies used to subsidize wheat farmers' increased freight bills.

—GORDON J. HAMILTON
Cambridge, Mass.

This Canada of ours

With reference to the letter by William W. Romano of Kirkland, Que. (*When English becomes Sloped*, Oct. 17), complaining about the support given the Franco-Slovene by the federal government seems to have taken their constitutional rights in that province. Romano should not complain, but support the fight in Manitoba. He too is part of a minority.

—JEAN EMMETT
Brossard, Que.

Defending Hiroshima

I take exception to Bruce Caldwell's letter castigating the United States for dropping two atomic bombs on Japan to shorten the Second World War (*Balance of terror*, Letters, Oct. 3). As a veteran, let me advise Caldwell that both Germany and Japan were surrendering to

suicide atomic bombs at that time, and only last month a Japanese scientist confessed that he was working on such a weapon and that Japan would certainly have used it if they had completed them first.

—FRED W. KROENIG
200 Mile House, B.C.

It's not easy being Red

I really do get rather tired of Barbara Amiel's bad temper and right-wing prejudices finding their way into print (*The assassination of T.H. White*, Column, Oct. 30). It is hardly surprising that she would disagree with T.H. White's scathing view of Communist China, but perhaps her suggestion that he commit professional suicide is a little severe for someone disagreeing with her. Does she really believe that 20th-century journalists played a role "in the destruction of free and open societies"? I doubt it. But they did report some of the destruction. The major job of anyone, in Amiel's eyes, seems to be saying anything good about a communist or socialist country.

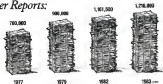
—ROBERT LA FRANCE
Brook Ridge, N.S.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Contributors supply names, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is sent to the Editor. *Maclean's* magazine, Maclean's (Pulse) 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.



Pulp and Paper Reports:

Making Paper from Paper



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Source: CPMA

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creased more than 40% and is growing steadily.

To meet the need for recyclable waste paper, Canada has had to look to foreign sources for additional supplies. In fact, over 1/3 of the recyclable paper consumed by Canadian mills is purchased elsewhere, mostly in the United States.

A major objective of the pulp and paper industry is to encourage the recovery of more recyclable paper in Canada. It will take time, but this goal

can be achieved. Burning or burying waste paper does not make sense. Recycling paper to make paper does, because it extends Canada's forest resource — the origin of our job is less secure the country.

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Angry workers' march (above); poverty victims (below); riots, food protests, looting and mass demonstrations

DATELINE: BRAZIL

A troubled nation under economic siege

By Moyra Ashford

After 35 years of working for a São Paulo home appliance manufacturer, pattern maker Waldemar Veiros, 48, lost his \$150 (US) a-month job in March when the company curtailed its operations. Since he could not find work at a comparable salary, in May Veiros opened a small general store selling food and household goods in Vila Espanhola, a working-class suburb of São Paulo. But after eight months of losses, Veiros is job hunting again and plans to sell his store if he finds work. In a nation of 130 million, where an estimated 35 per cent of the working-age population is urban centres is either unemployed or underemployed, Veiros is not alone in the company of misery.

Recently, a series of strikes and protests by angry metalworkers, oil refinery workers and Brazilian out of work has rocked the country. Last month Brazil sidestepped pressure from anxious International Monetary Fund bankers and introduced less stringent austerity measures than those recommended by the IMF.

Brazil now has all the characteristics of a nation under siege. The intensify-

ing "economic miracle" of the 1960s and early 1970s, when the country's gross national product grew by an average of 11 per cent annually, has now left the country with a staggering \$96-billion foreign debt—the Third World's largest. Last year meat food prices rose by 250 per cent. Jaded citizens grudgingly de-



scribe 130-per-cent mortgage interest rates as "mortem bombs" — they leave the houses standing but the people dead. For nervous IMF bankers and foreign creditors, the dilemma is now whether or not to approve short-term loans totalling approximately \$10 billion for the beleaguered country, which is already \$1 billion in arrears on its debt payments, so that it can meet import bills and interest payments.

If Brazil's debt were distributed equally, each man, woman and child would owe the foreign banks \$750. But nothing is fairly divided in Brazil. For the 35 per cent of Brazilians who are *clivistas*, such mammoth projects as the \$2-billion Brazilian space program are irrelevant. In the "Belinda" concept expounded by Brazilian economist Edmar Bacha, the country is virtually two disjoint nations—a small rich and industrialized "Belgium" surrounded by a vast and half-starved "India". Fully 50 per cent of the population earns only 12.6 per cent of the national income. During the loose years Brazil's "Belgian" grew, and the population of "India" sustained itself with the hope that one day it, too, would find a place in the sun. Now, the dream of upward mobility is dead. Explained Bacha: "The

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protests are emanating from those excluded from "Belgrano"—the haves in the northeast—and from the middle class, which is suffering from unemployment and salary erosion.

In September the nation's anger erupted as workers protesting against food shortages struck the country's two major cities—Rio de Janeiro (population, 8 million) and São Paulo (3.2 million). In only 30 days more of shop dwellers looted 134 supermarkets and general stores. By the end of the month the attacks had subsided in the face of increased police vigilance and the presence of armed guards hired by supermarket owners. But in the chronically drought-parched northeast, rapacious, hordes of half-starved women and children ransacked 90 warehouses and food stores for beans, rice, sugar, oil and other basic foods. People have resorted to eating lizards and desert rats and using hard-skinned cactus in vegetable stews.

The economic crisis is most visible in the crowded streets of São Paulo, which accounts for 60 per cent of Brazil's industrial output. The city's population quadrupled in less than 30 years, and it became a magnet for poor rural migrants. In 1980 São Paulo's slums housed a gross income that topped that of the whole of Argentina. But by August the city's unemployment rate had reached 20 per cent, and industrial production had fallen to pre-1973 levels. One-third of those who are employed earn less than \$75 a month—barely enough to feed a single adult. An army of trinket sellers and beggars has invaded the city. At night an estimated one million abandoned children roam the streets, begging and hawking chocolate bars to people on movie outings. Crime in São Paulo has reached alarming proportions. An average of three armed bank robberies occurs every working day. Rapists regularly assault apartment residents in their lobbies and sexual harassers on buses.

The plight of the normally stable professional and middle class is probably the most telling indicator of Brazil's economic and social downturn. Estimates of layoffs in such professions as engineering run as high as 90 per cent. Disempowered individuals, many of them former company executives and managers, have resorted to makeshift canvas booths on the streets where they sell such items as handbags and trinkets. Those who still have jobs are forced to adopt emergency budgeting measures. Some workers park their cars halfway to work and walk the rest of the way. Many have had to surrender their children's private school education—a real necessity for the middle class in a coun-

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No place on earth has weather this dreadful. So we created it.

WHY DID WE DO IT? We created this very bad place for a very good reason. We wanted to test heat pumps. Because we believe the heat pump is an excellent solution to Canada's somewhat less than perfect climate...and a great way to save valuable energy resources.

Testing the performance of heat pumps in the environmental chamber has enabled us to work with the Canadian Standards Association (CSA) to set performance standards for manufacturers. And allowed us, on behalf of the Canadian Electrical Association, to develop a prototype heat pump particularly suited to Canada's demanding climate.

By evaluating a wide variety of heat pump designs and components we've helped Canadian manufacturers make vast improvements over the years.

WHAT DOES A HEAT PUMP DO? The heat pump is a remarkable device that provides your home with heating in the winter and cooling in the summer for dependable, year-round comfort. And it does it very efficiently.

In fact the heat pump is so efficient that it actually delivers over twice as much energy as it consumes. And that can add up to substantial savings over other heating systems.

As long as the temperature outside remains above -2°C, the heat pump can do the entire job of heating your home. At lower temperatures the heat pump works in conjunction with electric resistance heaters built into the unit, or with your existing furnace if an 'add-on' heat pump has been installed.

HOW DOES IT WORK? If you hold your hand near the coils at the back of a refrigerator, you'll feel the heat which has been removed from the inside and moved to the outside. The heat pump works on the very same principle. It doesn't really create heat, it merely moves it from one place to another.

In winter, it takes the heat from the air outside your home and pumps it indoors, and in summer it takes the heat from inside your home and pumps it outside.

By the way, there is heat in the air even on the very coldest winter days. As a matter of fact, there's heat in the air until the temperature drops to 'absolute zero' or -273°C - which it never does. (No experience for yourself what absolute zero feels like, you'll have to go a very long way. The planet Pluto, for example, approaches it on a really bad day.)

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to make more effective and economical use of electricity. We became pioneers of the Canadian heat pump back in 1949 when, in co-operation with researchers from the University of Toronto, we developed and installed a heat pump in a home in Port Credit, Ontario.

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ity in which public school standards are low. One of the more fortunate middle-class members is Gidlon Repasche. A 43-year-old assistant department supervisor at the São Paulo branch headquarters of the Banco do Brasil, Repasche earned \$2,000 (U.S.) a month in 1986. Although he is still among the top 50 per cent of wage earners, his salary's real purchasing power has fallen to \$1,600. To save money, Repasche's family has now forsaken vacations and replaced the gas-fueled water boiler with a more efficient electric model. Said a better Repasche: "I do not think we are privileged; no one should have to live on less than we have."

According to the experts, Brazil's economic will deepen before the economy improves. Gen. Figueiredo's new austerity measures passed by Congress on Oct. 15 leave in place the highly inflationary indexing system in which wages are linked to soaring price increases. The IMF demanded harsher measures, which would have limited all salaries to 80 per cent of the cost-of-living index, now running at 30 percentage points below the annual inflation rate. But Figueiredo's plan applies a sliding scale. It allows workers who make less than \$150 a month raises equal to 100 per cent of the index.

Brazil's economic and social plight poses political perils. The country is poised at a delicate point in the process called *abertura*—opening the way for a "slow, gradual and irreversible" return to democracy, presided by the country's military rulers. In the past year authorities have lifted censorship, granted amnesty for thousands of exiled or disenfranchised Brazilians and allowed democratic elections for almost every public office below the presidency. The government now favors compromise rather than confrontation to keep *abertura* on track. Although the military is divided internally, it appears willing to forsake governmental power. Still, citizens are concerned that if the domestic situation and civil disobedience grow out of control, the army might intervene to restore order.

Economists believe that Brazil could still achieve modest growth by 1988 if the world economy eases. But the question remains: what will the intervening years bring? For the people, each day businesses grows. In the past few weeks apathy has begun to undermine the organization of strikes as some worried workers refuse to participate in illegal walkouts for fear of losing their jobs. For Waldemir Veiros, living with despair dulls the spirit of defiance. Said a enraged Veiros: "That's today's reality. I have no choice but to accept it." ♦

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Illustration: Susan Crockett for The Stock Co. Ltd.

FOLLOW-UP

How safe are U.S. bridges?

Last June 28, a 306-foot-long section of the six-lane *Mianus River Bridge*, linking New York City to New England, plunged 70 feet into the river, killing three motorists and injuring three others. To date, there have been five serious reports on the collapse of the 20-year-old bridge, and public works experts suspect that the catastrophic may foreshadow a series of similar disasters. The *Mianus River* tragedy underscores the fact that nearly 75 per cent of the 564,489 bridges in the United States will reach the critical age of 50—the average life expectancy of a bridge—before 1990 (15 per cent of Canada's more than 50,000 highway and municipal bridges are about 20 to 30 years newer than those in the United States; the issue is mostly winter salt corrosion, not construction). *Rogers* federal inspection and upgrading programs began at least eight years ago.)

When inspectors last examined the *Mianus River Bridge* in September, 1982, they found no worrisome deterioration. But George Mair, whose 1982 book *Bridge Doom* dramatically raised alarm bells in the decaying state of U.S. bridges, argues that the biennial inspections are not thorough enough. Sent Mair "A good part of the [Mianus] inspection was done by a man standing on the banks of the river with binoculars." Public confidence with the inspectors was further undermined last month when a Superior Court judge found Jerry White, one of the public works employees who had inspected the *Mianus River Bridge*, guilty of altering his field notes after the collapse in an apparent attempt to protect himself.

Bridge and road inspectors undertaken across the United States since the accident have fuelled fears that the entire U.S. road system is in an advanced state of decay. The *Rogers* administration has angered critics by using local unemployment levels, rather than road, as the guideline for allocating \$7 billion for bridge repair and replacement over the next four years. And, according to Mair, "At the rate we are now spending money for bridge repair, it will take 70 years just to fix the bridges in need of repair today." That is a small comfort to the millions of motorists who must cross potentially perilous structures every day.

—DANIEL BURSTEIN in New York



DALE GELLIS, President
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OTTAWA—Capitol Dodge Chrysler Ltd.
OTTAWA—Civille Chrysler
ESQUIMAULT—Esquimault Plymouth-Chrysler Ltd.
SCARBOROUGH—AgriCourt Chrysler Plymouth Motors Inc.
SUDBURY—Lamberton Motors (Sudbury) (1988) Ltd.
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TORONTO—Dewdney Chrysler (1987) Ltd.
WINDSOR—Central Chrysler Plymouth (1988) Ltd.

MANITOTA

WINNIPEG—Eastern Sales Ltd.
WINNIPEG—Shelley Chrysler Plymouth Ltd.

SASKATCHEWAN

REGINA—Crestline Chrysler Dodge Ltd.
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ALBERTA

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CALGARY—Tower Chrysler Plymouth Ltd.
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FOLLOW-UP

New joys for Justin Clark

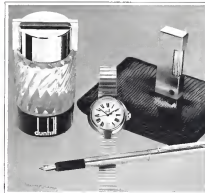
One year ago Justin Clark, then 26, the severely disabled Ottawa man whose struggle for the right to vote has touched many Canadians, won his case in court. His parents, Ronald and Ruth Clark, were rewarded that their son was incapable of determining his own future: his speaking ability is minimal, and he cannot walk, sit or go to the toilet without help. But on Nov. 25, 1992, County Court Judge John Matheson disagreed with them. After an emotional six-day hearing, Matheson told a packed Perth, Ont., courtroom that "a cognoscent man like Justin Clark is entitled to take a risk." Now Clark is happily living at Peter Parag, a group home for the handicapped in central Ottawa, and attending McArthur High School, where he has shown a keen interest in computers. Although his severe physical problems remain unchanged—his back is twisted by scoliosis, and he must wear a painful corrective brace and spend half of his day



Clark, his severe physical problems remain unchanged, but his life has opened up.

lying down—the plucky young man is coping. Said his friend, Norman Pelletier, 29, who taught French at the St. Jean Regional Centre where Clark used to live until founding Peter Parag in August, 1982: "I do not know what is ahead... but right now Justin is blossoming."

Clark's life was not always so fulfilling. The youngest of a family of six, he was born with cerebral palsy, a disability that causes loss of muscular control. Realizing that their son needed expert care, the Clarks placed him at the St. Jean Regional Centre in Stittsville, 60 km southwest of Ottawa, a 1975-bed



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facility for the developmentally handicapped. The Clarks rarely visited Justin—they mistakenly believed that he did not recognize them—but continued to send gifts and clothes. Specialists at the Rivens concluded that Clark had the mental capacity of "mild-moderate level," and for years he received no formal education. But in 1974, life suddenly opened up for the 12-year-old boy when the Institute introduced Shynobolox, a language using a board of symbols. Within months, Clark mastered hundreds of symbols, in the process revealing a surprisingly bright, inquisitive mind. When Clark turned 18, a doctor who assessed him concluded that, in fact, he could make his own decisions. Indeed, he recommended Clark as a prime candidate to live outside the institution. But Clark's parents, who retained final authority over their son's activities, feared that he would not receive the necessary care outside the Institute and insisted that he remain at the Rivens. In June 1980, when Ronald Clark sought to obtain legal guardianship of his son, Justin, with Pelletier's help, hired lawyer David Baker to challenge his father. After the trial in November, 1980, highlighted by Justin's 30-minute testimony in Shynobolox, the young man in a wheelchair was his freedom.

While Clark is enjoying his freedom, these days to him most as protecting his privacy. Baker receives a steady flow of media requests for interviews, which he refuses on Clark's behalf. While Clark's parents are strangers to him and Ronald Clark will not comment on his son's new life, their relationship is showing signs of improvement. Said Pelletier: "It is growing. They have written to Justin, and he is very excited about the whole thing." For his part, Clark is adapting well to life at Hildegarde High School, where, along with 30 other disabled students, he takes general courses in reading, writing, math, woodworking and life skills. Said school principal Barbara Stullery: "The enthusiasm for anything new is boundless. For him, it is almost like being reborn, and he is giving everything his all." Stullery notes that the gentleman Clark is well-liked by both students and teachers.

Clark's handicap history not only irrevocably changed the course of his life, but that of other handicapped people too. Of the 24 young men who lived on Clark's ward at the Rivens Institute, 23 now want to live free. Indeed, when Hildegarde announced his decision, Justin Clark's euphoric reaction, reverberating throughout the heated courtroom, symbolized much more than his personal triumph. It marked a collective victory for the nation's handicapped.

—JULIE TAYLOR COHEN in Ontario

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George Wallace's political dream

After George Wallace steered his wheelchair back into the Alabama governor's office last January for an unprecedented fourth term, his critics soon began to complain that he was too seldom there. Shortly after taking the oath of office, he entered hospital for treatment of problems that his aides had carefully kept from the electorate during the arduous campaign: pain and depression stemming from Arthur Bremer's 1972 assassination attempt, which left Wallace paralyzed from the waist down. His prolonged absence from the state capital sparked widespread rumors that a rising cadre of neo-fascists was running the state, much as in previous times. Still, as the 1984 U.S. presidential race speeds up, it is clear that Wallace remains a potent political force.

Recently, a series of democratic presidential hopefuls, including Ohio Senator John Glenn, former vice-president Walter Mondale and Rep. Jesse Jackson, the black Chicago civil rights activist, have consulted with Wallace. But the governor has so far not endorsed any candidate, and political observers speculate that, after his four unsuccessful runs for the White House, Wallace's lifelong dream to sit in Washington's Oval Office is not dead. Indeed, the governor has neither confirmed nor denied the rumors and has said, "If I am drafted, of course I would accept."

At 64, Wallace's bearing and vision may be fading, but his political power is not. According to Kenneth Wallis, a member of Wallace's cabinet, as the last legislative session the governor convinced legislators to approve 75 to 80 per cent of his programs. Many Alabamians believe his efforts through the Alabama Development Office have helped reduce the unemployment rate to 10.2 per cent from a January high of 16.7 per cent. The chartered former neo-fascist has also carried love with black elites by appointing nearly 100 blacks to responsible board and commission positions since January. Still, many observers say that Wallace's recent record is blemished. The U.S. justice department is now seeking a court order to force him to desegregate two predominantly black Alabama universities. But critics and physical disabilities have never deterred the veteran political warrior. Said Brandi Ayers, editor and publisher of *The American Star* in Anniston, Ala.: "He loves to run."

—ANN WALMSLEY in Toronto, with Kenneth Englund in Montgomery

COLUMN

Freedom of choice is immoral

By Barbara Amiel

Last week was a fun time in Eastern Canada for those insouciant people with the gentle ability to drink in black-and-white terms, free from the burden of moral qualms. Like feminist Gloria Steinem and soul mate Pile Kennedy.

You remember Pile. She is a founding member of the National Organization for Women and more recently the U.S. Feminist Party, as well as being a lawyer and author of such judgment-free books as *Abortion Flip*. To use her own description of herself: "I may seem radical, but I'm not. I'm just a warm thinker."

Well, Gloria and Pile were peeping in and out of Toronto to meet such Canadian counterparts as Toronto feminist Hugo Lane and journalist Jens Cullwood. They had a great reception down at Toronto's Elmwood Women's Club, which was once considered too basic for more democratic 20th-century club work, but is now a hot spot for the left. Gloria and Pile were in town at the invitation of the ad hoc committee for the local Institute "Which, say, an invitation to fork out \$50 and meet and hear Gloria and Pile explain things to us read, 'is not pro-abortion or anti-abortion. The issue is choice.' Unfortunately, in spite of the added temptation of champagne and dessert, I made a choice not to go and here I present at this 50¢ reception at Toronto's Statens Centre.

Some of us, alas, unlike Steinem, Kennedy, Cullwood and the Canadian ad hoc committee (which included Liberal activist Kelly Robeson, chairwoman of the local Institute), were missing the point. Myra Subin, the missing link about the politics and issues of our sex, writer Judith Mayhew and poetess Barbara Caplan, are affiliated with the problem of seeing moral aspects to certain questions, like abortion. These moral aspects may not prevail as free using the need for abortion as a handy but necessary fact of life, but they do present as free reducing the question to the outright lie contained in the phrase, "The issue is choice."

That is not remotely the issue, and I do not believe for one moment that any of the above think it is. Personally, I think too highly (perhaps wrongly) of their moral acuity to believe such a ludicrous suggestion, but if they really think that, well, they have even less

brain power than some of their female friends would suggest.

Abortions are available to women through hospitals. They are not illegal. Any woman in Canada who wishes to have an abortion can have one. She may have a little more difficulty in getting one if she lives in Nunavut or Pile's home, but then Drs. Menzies and Pile, when Pile and Gloria and Jens are raising money, are not planning lots to such remote parts of the country.

Anyway, making a bit of a journey to kill one's child ought not to be too overwhelming a choice to make. Even economically disadvantaged women (who are always and in these arguments) will sometimes travel out of town for a special occasion or to make a special purchase. And if the abortion and key to this argument, having an abortion is not quite the same thing as choosing, say, a green dress rather than a blue dress. There is more than choice in-

'Anyway, making a bit of a journey to kill one's child ought not to be too overwhelming a choice to make'

choice. There is a moral decision to make. To pretend that such a component is not the most pressing element in a woman's decision or in the attitude of society to the question of abortion is to turn the issue into a strict utilitarianism, of whether the dress should have a white collar or a plunging neckline, whether the abortion should be done on Monday or Tuesday—depending on what is on TV that night.

There is the risk that the killing thing about the politics and issues of our sex, and most especially Canadian politics, is that they are no longer concerned with virtue, or the slightest consideration of what might be morally desirable. These are practical, utilitarian times. The pragmatic approach to life is to abolish those aspects of our being that have marked our great social political thinkers, from Aristotle to Edmund Burke, who would begin reminding us again with a variety of the question, "How should we live?"

The cheapest approach to debating public policy is the goal of winning the passions of our citizens has been abandoned in favor of debates that bu-

gus with rote slogans like, "The issue is choice." Slogans that, whatever the outcome of the debate, totally eliminate the consideration of virtue from the equation.

In taking this argument further, the American conservative philosopher George F. Will pointed out that the great moral issue of slavery, when debated by Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, was reduced by Douglas to an argument of utilitarian matters: the clash between material and economic interests and the balancing of these interests without regard to moral principle. Will argues that U.S. political theory today has more often followed the pragmatism of Douglas than the moral principle of Lincoln. If he thinks the United States is bad, he should try talking with Canadians.

I was reminded of this by spending part of last week processing one of those fruitful (in the sense of immoral rather than frightening) made-for-TV films that are now the rage, all about the end of the world through nuclear holocaust. The film I watched, called *The Day After*, charred out details of how awful it would be to wake up the morning after a nuclear war. Nowhere in the entire drama is there any consideration of the moral values of life, of liberty, of freedom. The whole drama is about the value of practical survival. Everything is weighed in relative terms. "Why would you blow up Chicago to save West Berlin?" seems to be the question implicit in the film—without any regard for what one might be fighting for or suffering for. Survival, after all, is a practical business.

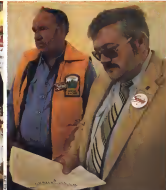
It is hopeless to explain that, if you regard every form of indignity, terror and humiliation as not worth coping with because of the destruction that follows, chances are that you will suffer from a form of indignity and terror, and at the same time find it is not at all certain that you will escape the destruction you seek to avoid.

Not certain indignities do more than temporarily affect one. There is a quality to life that cannot be quantified in the utilitarian spirit of our times. There are, whether Steinem, Cullwood and fellow travellers of the world believe it, questions of morality that may be as important to life as life itself. Which is, after all, only a temporal state. And the quality and way in which we live surely does seem to play in our policy decisions.

That is my choice anyway.



Striking civil servants on a picket line at stove outside a provincial prison; opposing forces locked in a showdown



Solidarity rally; forest union chief Jack Munro (left) and Kube discuss strategy; anger and threats of more walkouts

CANADA

British Columbia divided

By June O'Brien

British Columbia was a province bitterly and profoundly divided last week. When Premier William Bennett brought down his controversial legislative program on July 7, he defended it as the narrowest restraint. Then, when British Columbia's powerful trade unions estimated the new laws, they concluded that the package was Bennett's revenge for victories they had won in the past. During the past four months those opposing forces have been increasingly headed for a showdown. On Nov. 8, British Columbia's 40,000 teachers and educational support staff walked off the job. Two days later 2,000 workers at four Crown corporations followed them. Initially, they picketed in sympathy with 40,000 public employees who went on a legal strike on Oct. 27 to protest the planned fringe of 1,600 of their fellow members without regard to seniority. But last week labor's demands broadened, and the strike grew

into a massive political protest which has split the province and subverted the single issue of the fringe.

Throughout the Remembrance Day weekend, negotiations for both the government and the B.C. Government Employees' Union (GEU) were in progress.

The government and striking workers tried to reach an agreement as teachers joined picket lines across the province

players' Union (GEU) tried to reach a contract settlement—a key step in getting everybody back to work. The pressure to settle was palpable. Operation Solidarity, the coalition front formed to fight Bennett's restraint, threatened to pull 200,000 public sector employees off the job and completely paralyze the

province. Opposition leader Steve Barrett expressed the confusion and anxiety that most British Columbians felt. "This whole mess just was not necessary," he declared. As the province struggled through a second week with 5,000 closed government offices, 20,000 ferry workers, bus drivers and municipal employees prepared to join the walkout on Nov. 15.

In provincial courts prosecutors began dropping minor charges to prevent a backlog of cases. Welfare inspectors forced long detours at emergency centers, and police closed significant mountain highways, preventing food and fuel supplies from reaching island communities. But teachers, who left almost 200,000 elementary and secondary schoolchildren without classes and younger children without day care, caused the most concern. The walkout by teachers was the second round in Solidarity's escalating program of action to increase pressure on the government.

As British Columbians entered the long weekend, they knew that buses and ferries might soon stop running. There was one indication of a breakthrough. Operation Solidarity softened its hard-line stand. It offered the government peace if Victoria agreed to settle the controversial layoff issue and restored seniority rights as a criterion for determining fringe benefits. Originally, Operation Solidarity said that if the teachers struck in support of the school, the government would have to withdraw major parts of its legislative package in order to get them back to work. By week's end the unions reduced their demands to a request that the government discuss such issues as the closing of the Human Rights Commission and the new central office with Operation Solidarity. Said A. J. Gosselin of the 10,000-member Canadian Paperworkers Union: "We are not going to say you have to do this properly this or human rights or seniority rights. That would be dumb. There is no government that would be prepared to capitulate, and we don't expect them to."

At the same time, the teachers' pressure on the law made a settlement more difficult to obtain. Declared Larry Kuhn, president of the B.C. Teachers' Federation, "Once we are out, there are other issues of concern to teachers, specifically the massive cutbacks in education that the government plans for the next three years. That is what has the teachers upset. That has to be on the table now." The teachers' federation estimated that almost 90 per cent of its members were either out on strike or holding picket lines around their schools. Many were also denying information regarding their back to work.

Emergency Union leaders across Canada are closely following events in British Columbia, and Moore's has learned that federal public service unions in British Columbia, including 2,000 inside postal workers, were prepared to join the picket lines if the strike lasted past Nov. 15. "There is probably the most important strike in Canada in recent history," said William Chedoke, first national vice-president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. "It is not an economic strike but a political strike. If Bennett gets away with this legislation, the other provinces will be looking in it very closely."

Bennett did say that he would not use emergency legislation to force the teachers—or any other workers—back on the job. He said that he would concentrate instead on settling the BCGEU negotiations. As well, the government has deliberately ignored the growing ranks of picketers as though they were uninvited guests at a dinner. Two weeks before the teachers' walkout, Education Minister Jack Heinrich ignored the educators with an ill-timed warning that they would be in danger of losing their teaching certificates if they abandoned their classrooms, a threat reinforced by Bennett on the eve of the walkout. In an interview with Maclean's, Provincial Secretary James Chabot said, "Our main objective has been an agreement with the public service employees. They are now out picketing, and there is no need for that. I have great difficulty responding to the plans of Operation Solidarity, whose members are making threats and shifting their ground on a daily basis. As far as the teachers, they have shown a complete disregard for their students and they will have to examine their own consciences."

Overhauling: Recent provincewide polls show that most British Columbians favor unions, but also that as many as 75 per cent disagree with Bennett's all-out approach to the issue. Indeed, in the past five years all provincial governments have been actively trimming the numbers of civil servants through staffing and layoffs without receiving any criticism. But Bennett, encouraged by the overwhelming electoral results which he won last May, directly challenged labor with his revolutionary restraint package. The program did not cut government spending

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the provincial budget increased by 12 per cent, and the deficit rose to \$2.6 billion. Said Michael Bolton, a lawyer and instructor in labor and liberties at Queen's College, "Bolton has ripped apart all the fundamental tenets of marketplace security and made 30 years of trade unionism fail. The restraint legislation could not help but lead to what it has led to. There is nothing wrong with laying people off. But, instead of using due process, Bolton chose to bare his teeth and use a club."

When the budget debate heated up in early September, Bolton also provoked the Opposition by holding a series of all-night sittings on his package of legislation. Confrontation is common in the BC legislature, but Bolton, the 36-year-old Social Credit caucus member, did not concede anything to the Opposition, and they invoked closure an unprecedented 20 times in order to end debate.

Records were also set for filibuster and disorderly conduct as the NDP tried to block passage of what it termed "the dirty dozen"—12 bills which the Opposition found regressive, particularly those that allowed the government to dismiss workers without considering seniority. While the NDP failed to stop the passage of Bolton's legislation, Solidarity was gaining momentum outside the legislature.

Controversial Solidarity found its name and its mission within days of Bolton's July 7 budget. It began when Barry Polakowski, Art Kabe, president of the BC Federation of Labor, called for a broad-based coalition to pressure the budget and its accompanying legislation. Solidarity rallies in Victoria and Vancouver drew crowds of as many as 90,000 people, but Bolton largely ignored them until Sept. 25, when the BC NDP's "harmless" motion announced that the union would strike if any of its members were fired on Oct. 31. By month's end Bolton gave the first signal that he might be willing to compromise. He agreed to withdraw a controversial clause that allowed the government to fire employees without cause. The union dismissed that action as too little, too late, and Kabe warned the threat of a general strike.

That threat was still present as the weekend, and Bolton's government responded to it by taking direction to Oppose Solidarity—a move that the premier had resisted. Talks on a new contract for highly skilled civil servants continued, but government negotiators also met with coalition members to discuss the role of civil servants. Even as the talks on two fronts increased chances for settlement, the NDP's demand that the likelihood of the strike will linger longer after the picket lines are gone.

With Gordon Lager in Vancouver

Radicalizing the workers

When Wood was adamant that B.C. Premier Bill Bennett had set out to destroy the union in a province in which 49 per cent of the labor force is organized. Wood, 37, the second vice-president of the 40,000-member B.C. Government Employees' Union (BCEU), and her name was on the list when the government announced that 1,600 employees would be fired Oct. 30—a deadline that Bennett rescinded during negotiations. Wood was an administrative assistant in the Prime George office of the human resources ministry. She and her fellow union activists (and it surprises that 17 workers in similar jobs around the province remained on the payroll. Jack

McLeod never been a union member before he went to work for the government 18 months ago as a motor vehicle inspector. "I was uneducated and untrained," Northcott continued. An automobile mechanic, he decided to trade higher wages for long-term security when he joined the government. He wanted to ensure that he could send his 16-year-old daughter through college. But a phased elimination of the vehicle branch began in July, and Northcott's job was declared redundant. Now Northcott and his wife, Rita, 36, an unemployed secretary, are struggling to meet expenses which exceed his \$150-a-week strike pay. Although there have been discouraging moments during the strike, Northcott will not give up. "When there are 48,000 people out there losing their salaries and standing outside in the cold because they agree that the government had done the wrong thing by firing 1,600 people, then that makes you pretty damn hardy."

Prime George is another worker who did not want to give in. George, 45, a coordinator of all family and children's services with the ministry of human resources, was "shocked and stunned" when she read a dismissal letter that declared her "redundant." Although never as active as some members, she is now a Solidarity organizer. Her first concern after being fired was not for her own security but for the children and teenagers under her care. "What bothers me is that all the services built up over the past 50

years are being dismantled." Ron Cass, 36, a counselor in the family support program in East Vancouver, shares her concern. A government employee for the past six years, Cass worked with parents and troubled teenagers to help keep families together. "I think some families will break up and will suffer as a result of my not being involved. I think there will be more loss of the parents," he said. Unlike other workers, Cass was not surprised when he was recruited to demonstrate. Now he and the others are angry—and wondering if they will get their jobs back.



Wood, message to union activists and cuts in services



Saskatchewan Potash Corp. in operation; Andrew: Opposition charges of politics in the boardroom

Devine's inspirations

When a Tory victory in April 1982 ended 21 years of New Democratic Party rule in Saskatchewan, Crown corporations were the most powerful force in the province's economy set to agriculture. Collectively, the 31 corporations provided 14,000 jobs, controlled \$5.8 billion in assets and embraced everything from resource development to far marketing. When he became premier, Grant Devine promised that the corporations would become leaner and free from the political interference that had been evident under the previous government. But last week, when state private sector businessmen and professionals in a rapid cabinet reshuffle as the chairman of the province's most important Crown corporation, the new Opposition charged that the appointments meant more, not less, politics in the boardrooms. The reason: at least four of the nine appointments went to well-known Tory partisans.

In all, the government plans to replace the heads of 17 Crown corporations which operate in such commercial sectors as electrical power, mines and insurance. The other four corporations are small enterprises with specific mandates like keeping track of the location of provincially owned grain hopper cars. But the NDP maintained that the decision would be expensive, because the new chairmen earn as much as \$300 a day for every day they spend on Crown corporation business. The select ministers they are replacing received no extra fees while acting as corporation heads. As well, with prominent Tories in charge, political interference in the workings of Crown corporations

will actually increase, according to Opposition critic Devlin Lingenfelter, MLA for Sherwood in southwestern Saskatchewan.

Unlikely Staff Berolles, the new head of the Saskatchewan Mining Development Corp., is one of the most controversial appointments. Berolles now presides over a company heavily involved in the mining and export of uranium. He has been active in provincial politics since the early 1960s, when he opposed the introduction of Canada's first nuclear system in Saskatchewan. He is also a provincial vice-president of the federal Progressive Conservative party and a well-known fund raiser for the party.

Other prominent Tories include senior Crown corporations including Steven Taylor George Hill, a former provincial Tory president who is chairman of the Saskatchewan Power Corp. Allan Waage, a successful insurance executive and defeated Conservative candidate who is head of the Saskatchewan Government Insurance Corp., and Saskatoon lawyer Harold Lane, a former Tory MLA who joined the Crown Management Board, the government holding company that oversees operations of all Saskatchewan Crown corporations.

The most sensitive job of all went to Saskatoon Mayor Cliff Wright, who became head of the Potash Corp. of Saskatchewan

with more than \$1 billion in assets and the second-largest producer of potash in the world next to a Soviet company, has its headquarters in Saskatoon. The appointment of Wright, who has no overt political connections but who retains his job as mayor, came under attack because of possible conflict of interest. "I suppose there is nothing I can do about it if people want to take that view, but that marks the third fairly senior appointment I have received from the past three governments," said Wright.

Finance Minister Robert Andrew defended the decision to replace cabinet ministers as chairmen—they will remain as vice-chairmen of the empowered boards—by citing a recent study conducted by a panel of chartered accountants and tax experts. After six months of investigation last year, the six-member panel reported in December that there was too much overlap in the daily operations of the corporations. It recommended that the government replace ministers holding business skills with experienced private sector managers. He maintained that the government's latest move would eventually produce a much needed "modernization of the Crown."

But the NDP's Lingenfelter predicted a different result. "This is going to cost taxpayers at least \$1 million a year," he said. "It will mean higher phone and power bills for Saskatchewan's people, with the money going to Tory backs."

—DALE FISHER in Regina





Driver Thibault in Montreal: the customers called for white drivers

The Haitians fight back

Sixteen months have passed since escalating charges of racism by Haitian drivers in Montreal's taxi industry sparked an inquiry by Quebec's Human Rights Commission. The final report is not expected until early next year, but this week the commission's drive for reform will be put to a key test: an oral and co-operative that employs only white drivers has been ordered to hire four Haitians by Nov. 28 or face legal action. Beyond the immediate dispute, 10 months of hearings revealed the subtle ways in which customers and companies made black drivers the targets of discrimination—and counterclaims by white drivers that they acted out of economic self-interest in a city with too many taxis.

The test came out of the commission's finding last month in an interim report that the 175-member Co-Op de l'Est had to submit a dispute with four drivers to mediation. The company refused to hire three of the Haitians and dismissed a fourth, Victor Thibault, 35, the owner of three cabs who now works for Taxi Moderne. Thibault sues on returning to Co-Op. "If I live in a free country," he said, "I can join any co-op I want."

Under the Quebec human rights code, disputes must first go to mediation before the courts. In early November Co-Op de l'Est refused to accept the first commission-appointed mediator. After a second was appointed last week, the talks aimed at resolving the dispute began. Roger Saint-Laurent, vice-presi-

dent of Co-Op de l'Est, at first dismissed the mediation process. "It's a waste of time," he said. "Their minds are made up. For them, only the blacks are right, and we're a bunch of liars."

The commission's interim report charged that on Co-Op de l'Est drivers had conspired to keep black drivers out of the company. One man, Louis Allard, was accused of advising potential customers: "If you don't want a black driver, call us. And you won't have any problems."

The commission heard evidence that firms employing black drivers developed devices ways to deal with customer requests for white drivers. Dispatchers used the phrase *un autobus (new)* to indicate that the first white driver in the queue should respond to the call. And white drivers complained that black employees would not move their cabs forward to let the whites out of the line.

Several companies routinely marked 75¢-per-ride meters, or no blacks—on their order books when callers asked for white drivers. When questioned by the commission, Benjamin St. Michel Radio Taxi inspector Adrian Galarneau admitted that managers knew about the 75¢ policy and did nothing to prevent it. In 1981, however, the company modified the practice. "Drivers," said Galarneau, "were then given the choice of accepting a white or a black request. If a black driver went and the client didn't want him, we'd send another cab." Dispatchers located the requests, Galarneau re-

sponded, because "the customer is always right."

When the inspector declared that the company stopped the practice in late 1982 "because it was illegal," Commissioner Nicole Tremblay-Bernard pointed to a March, 1982, telephone log containing the letters to Galarneau responded. "This is a mistake," Tremblay-Bernard then noted that it was a mistake that happened 307 times in the month. Maurice Labonté, co-owner of the 306-employee Beaudin taxi, which has 30 black drivers, told the commission that his problems were caused by the fact that his major competitors employ no blacks. "If all the companies had Haitians, we would never be here," he complained. He also testified that in 1981 the company received an anonymous letter from "angry drivers" threatening sabotage if the company continued to keep its black drivers.

According to Gerard Barthélemy, head of the activist Association Haitienne des Travailleurs du Taxi, the estimated 300 black drivers in the city work for only a half-dozen of Montreal's 35 taxi companies. One of them is Taxi Moderne, which, says Martin driver Thibault, "has made considerable efforts to correct its errors." But Barthélemy warns, "If the Co-Op de l'Est is allowed to deny black drivers, then Taxi Moderne will revert along with all the other companies."

Some cab drivers and human rights activists welcome the commission's inquiry. But Barthélemy, who drives a sparsely 1981 Buick cab for the downtown Diamond company, said that the inquiry "hasn't really intimidated racism. It will exist." While the 75¢ practice has stopped, discrimination—sometimes leading to insults and fouls—still flurries on taxi stands all over the city. "Haitians drivers are so intimidated that they're afraid to go to some stands," Barthélemy said.

Competing with 15,000 cab drivers—roughly double the number in Toronto—cabbies working up to 48 hours a week blame blacks for their falling incomes. The white drivers have accused Haitians of having "dirty cabs" and being impignt to customers. Said Co-Op de l'Est driver Roger Saint-Laurent: "I've got to defend my livelihood when the government comes showing its fingers into my pocket. I would like to see them do the right thing sometimes come down and work in taxis. Then they'd see what racism is and who is doing it. It's in every company." Commissioner Tremblay-Bernard defends the commission's work. "If we had believed the inquiry would have major effects," she said, "we would be discouraged. But the inquiry is only the beginning of action needed to confront racism."

—CHRISTOPHER NEAL in Montreal



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Dawson with mother, Sharon Grant; embroiled in an uneasy debate over who should decide who lives or who dies

COVER

THE 'MERCY' KILLERS

By Val Ross

For 16 little hours after her birth, Candace Tuschak struggled for life in Edmonton's University Hospital, then died in her mother's arms on Oct. 6, 1982. Two weeks ago the Alberta attorney general's department charged a 28-year-old Jewish doctor, Nathan Gal, with capital murder in connection with her death. Baby Tuschak's parents, Robert and Sharon, of Two Hills, Alta., suspecting that she was brain-dead, had tentatively agreed to take their severely disabled infant off life-support systems at the urging of another doctor. The attorney general's department alleges that Gal, a visiting resident physician in Edmonton (page 29), had decided, without consulting the Tuschaks, to ease and speed the baby's painful death with an injection of morphine 10 times the normal dosage. Brushed at her mother's home in Jerusalem, an anguished Gal demanded, "Am I the only one charged?" So far,

Gal is the first and only doctor to be charged with mercy killing in Canadian legal history. But, if he did it, he would by no means be the first to have done so. Euthanasia is classified as murder under the Canadian Criminal Code, but it is not an uncommon practice in Canada.

A growing clamor has forced decisions about terminating the life of the severely ill out of the shadows

and hospitals, and there is a growing public clamor to control it.

The need for clarification of the law is urgent. The rapid advance of life-prolonging medical technology has blurred the traditional meanings of life and death and raised new questions about which lives retain their human value. Expensive hospital machinery can now

extend life to those who previously would have been too sick to survive, placing an unwanted new burden of responsibility on the medical community. At the same time, death-with-dignity pressure groups urge doctors to "pull the plug" on the terminally ill and patients in a coma. And rights-of-the-handicapped advocates accuse any doctor who speeds the death of a patient incapable of making the choice for himself. The growing clamor has forced the day-by-day decisions about whether or not to terminate the life of the severely ill out of the shadows. In the past year doctors, judges, politicians and the families of patients near death have become embroiled in an uneasy debate over who should decide who lives and who dies.

The problem is growing. Elie Kluge, a professor of ethics at the University of Victoria, estimates that each year doctors and medical staff deliberately assist as many as 800 infants and comatose and terminally ill Canadians to die. The Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded estimates that the num-

ber is closer to 1,000. Until now, mercy killers who practiced euthanasia actively (for example, with drugs overdoses) or passively (by withholding life-saving medical treatment) did so privately, after consultation with relatives. But today at least have hung the doors open, guided by the fear that without more control over medical decisions-making they could someday become a doctor's abandoned experiment or an "artificial human" kept alive by medical technology. The public's clamor for more comprehensible and accountable decision-making is long overdue, according to George Grant, philosopher and professor of political science at Dalhousie University in Halifax. Said Grant: "A society that fails to see the seriousness of these issues has given up the core of the Western tradition. I cannot think of a more important subject in the Western world." North Americans are confronting that subject with accelerating frequency.

• In March, a B.C. court ruled that the parents of Stephen Dawson had the right to deny their retarded seven-year-old son a potentially life-saving medical operation. Four days later the B.C. Supreme Court reversed that decision. • In July, Canada's first court ruling effectively giving an individual the right to choose his or her own death emerged from a British Columbia Court of Ap-

peal decision. The court ruled against force-feeding an imprisoned Dutch-born woman, Mary Anteloff (Anteloff was starving herself to death in a religious protest). Solicitor General Robert Kaplan ignored the court's decision and ordered Anteloff force-fed and released from her prison last month.

• In October, Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan tabled in Parliament the Law Reform Commission of Canada's controversial report, *Moratorium, Andro Steroids and Consensus of Medical Treatment*—and then hastily assured an anxious public that the government would not implement any of the recommendations immediately.

• Two weeks ago the U.S. justice department filed a lawsuit to determine whether a New York couple was improperly denying life-saving surgery to a handicapped newborn baby when the green-dubbed Baby Jane Doe.

Worrisome notions Underpinning the contradictory court rulings and inconclusive political response is the relative value of "triage," the concept that a human life can be selected for extinction if it lacks "quality of life." Triage used to mean the process by which battlefield doctors would give priority treatment to men whose wounds offered a reasonable chance of recovery over those who would likely die. It has come to symbolize the cold-blooded ranking of human life into those who are fit to survive and those who are not. Still, when patients determine their own fate, the public's attitude toward euthanasia becomes inconsistent.

In 1973 Gallup poll reported that 66 per cent of those surveyed believed that doctors should not keep terminally ill patients alive when they formally ask to die. But the survey did not address the growing problem of patients who cannot decide for themselves—the very young, the retarded, and those in coma. Like Karen Ann Quinlan, whose doctors have kept alive in brain surgery ever since she fell into a drug-induced coma in 1975.

In those cases the power of life and death passes to other hands by default. Because courts have lacked precedents and because medical advice heavily influences the actions of the nation's doctors, the decision usually falls to the doctors. At one extreme of medical opinion are those who explicitly support

triage. Last year Dr. Scott Williams, a former B.C. Progressive Conservative leader, proposed a national referendum on permitting elderly patients to volunteer for death in order to free up hospital beds. In a controversial speech in Toronto in May, 1983, then President of the Canadian Medical Association Dr. Leon Richard asked who should have priority when health care resources were limited and requested, "those who will return to the work force, those who hold key positions in business or industry." Nor is the CMA's own ethics committee uneasy about the issue. Said Chairman Dr. Arthur Parsons of Halifax: "Who is going to get into the lifeboat? Is it better to keep a severely retarded person alive or spend your tight resources on bypass surgery for a father of four?"

At the other extreme of medical opinion are pro-life doctors and nurses and allies of the handicapped, who argue that almost all life can have value. Speaking of baby Tashchuk, Dr. Hugh Lafuze, executive vice-president of the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded, commented: "They keep offering us an explanation that God's will would have been retarded anyway. Well, is that a reason for killing God's will? The only reason I can see is that some doctor wanted to play God."

Still, controversial as triage is, it is already practiced in Canadian hospitals. According to Nerissa Hanson, past president of the Manitoba Association for the Mentally Retarded, attending doctors denied one Winnipeg woman kidney dialysis last year, apparently because she had Down's syndrome (she later died). Joseph Cartwright, a senior program staffer with the National Institute on Mental Retardation, charged that neglect in some homes for the retarded in the Atlantic provinces allowed people to die by denying them basic medical treatment. One woman at the Geriatric general-care home in Fredericton, N.B., died of leukemia 2½ years ago. Said Cartwright: "You have to work pretty hard at it for your patient to die of leukemia in the 1980s."

Denying people treatment because they are retarded contravenes the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons, the code of the Canadian Psychiatric Association and the beliefs of many doctors. But it is a common practice.

Patient in intensive care, allowing all-party patients to volunteer for death

Whether or not the Canadian public believes it is ethical will be the subject of intense debate this winter when the CMA-funded Task Force on Allocation of Health Resources, chaired by conservative advocate John Watson, opens the first of its cross-Canada public hearings on Jan. 15 in Toronto.

Morality. The vast majority of physicians are somewhere in the middle of the debate. They are uncomfortable with their service responsibilities but assure that they can meet them. Dr. John Anderson, a pediatrician with Halifax's Insular William Kilham Hospital for Children, said with a sigh "I have quite a bit of difficulty with the notion of 'passive euthanasia,' you make an active decision not to support life. I am concerned that such decisions could cascade into actions that could be unacceptable." But Anderson himself has taken those involving others. He admitted: "It makes me awfully uneasy. In one case, after I turned off the life-support system I had to listen for nine minutes for the toddler's heart to stop beating."

In the face of these awesome responsibilities, physicians are no more equipped to cope than anyone else. A survey reported in the March, 1983, edition of the CMA Journal (that 68 per cent of doctors polled had not even read the

CMA Code of Ethics, in fact, they sought their ethical advice from their colleagues, who had no more background than they do as a result, they sometimes made life-and-death decisions on very subjective bases. "The child of economically vulnerable parents has greater chances of receiving treatment," reported Joseph Magner, University of Ottawa associate professor of law, in a comprehensive 1980 study of Canadian medical practice concerning defective

newborns. Equally troubling was Magner's finding that not one doctor he surveyed could articulate the legal doctrine of informed consent, which gives patients the right to sufficient information to make decisions about their own treatment. In fact, several doctors told Magner that the idea of informed consent was "nonsense."

Not even as the medical community struggles awkwardly with the new moral questions, the courts are taking an in-

creasingly active role. The most dramatic example of the growing activism of the courts was the controversial battle last spring over Stephen Dawson (Mackay), March 26. Stephen suffered severe brain damage shortly after his birth. In February, 1983, a court, which deemed him from his brain, malfunctional. A neurosurgeon, Patrick Murray, visited Stephen often. On the basis of that visit, Murray advised the child's parents that Stephen would die painlessly if they denied him an operation for a new shunt. Later court testimony revealed that Stephen's mother asked Murray to "put him to sleep." B.C. social workers opposed the parents' decision and placed the boy in Vancouver's Children's Hospital to await the outcome of a custody battle. On the basis of testimony from doctors The Murray, provincial court Judge Patricia Byrne awarded custody to the Dawsons—effectively denying Stephen the operation. The B.C. government's lobby hailed her decision as a victory for the concept of "dying with dignity."

Overturned. But the B.C. Supreme Court overturned the decision. Medical personnel from Stephen's hospital, the Sunny Hill Hospital for Children, contradicted Murray's testimony that Stephen was "semi-vegetative." They pointed out that he could follow simple orders, throw a switch to start a toy train and was the only child in his ward



MacGuigan, attorney

Photo by [unreadable]

Photo by [unreadable]

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Photo by [unreadable]

California doctors (left) and Neill (right) the need for clarification



Photo by [unreadable]

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The Guttmacher group with photo of daughter Karen: traditional meanings of life and death are blurred

COVER

to be selected for music therapy. Mr. Justice Lloyd McKenna ruled that "the court's presumption must be in favor of life," and Stephen received his slightly delayed operation. Today, Dawson "is doing awfully well," according to Maryellen Harrison, Sunny Hill's director of nursing. She added, "He is back in school and music therapy, and his vision seems to be getting better."

Life and death: The second Dawson decision changed the course of life-and-death decision-making, at least in legal theory. Said Paul Rife, Penn State health law expert at the University of Alberta law school: "It has done wonderful things for jurisprudence in this country, giving us criteria and standards" that there are those who criticize the direction in which the Dawson case pushed the medical and legal professions. Dennis Dewar-Flood, a Victoria lawyer who acted as amicus curiae (advisor to the court) in the *Attahoff* case, asserts that "courts are not suited for dealing with life-and-death questions with scientific overtones." And Dr. John Chipman, chairman of the Canadian Paediatric Society's ethics committee, regrets that the case may have involved the courts more deeply in the medical decision-making process. Stud. Christian: "It's absolutely clear that the courts are too overbearing. Most courts, for example, should be dealt with in a matter of hours." Ladies of the CAMR disagree. Said Lafare: "Clearly, doctors and families can be in

conflict over what to do. Courts can step up all night, and have, to reach a decision if that is what is medically required of them. These are not only moral but also legal questions."

But, as citizens demand clearer and more accountable medical decision-making, they are discovering that, despite the growing number of court precedents, the lawmakers themselves are still grappling with the basic issues. Said lawyer Flood: "The situation is still very murky." And so one fears the suggestion of the law more than the doctors who must make the decisions. Currently, few doctors write down their—"Do not resuscitate"—orders for

specific values (which theoretically would absolve doctors of the duty of supporting the life of a patient who did not want to live and whose condition they could neither cure nor improve).

Murder: The commission treats the explosive topic of euthanasia with particular care. It recommends that euthanasia should remain classified as murder under the Criminal Code. The commission argues that justice is already lenient with those who kill for compassionate reasons. As well, it says, changing the present status of euthanasia gives the door to abuse, such as offering money to the nurse that their victim wanted to die. An example of the confusion that could arise if the commission had proposed widening the definition of a euthanasia "plus" area: This year in California, two doctors, Robert Noyd and Ned Barber, faced murder charges because they had not signed the life-supports of a patient after receiving the patient's family that he had suffered irreversible brain damage. The deputy district attorney of Los Angeles, Nikola Miladovich, told McKenna that the prosecution wanted the case as an attempt by the doctors to cover up their own negligence in causing the patient's condi-

tion. But last month, after months of legal debate, an appeal court dismissed the charges.

While lawmakers and professional organizations painfully grapple toward clearer policies, hospitals are already turning to another source of help—patients' advocates and hospital ethics committees, which provide considered opinions on problematic cases. At present there are only two hospital ethics committees in Canada, the older of which is at Pecheville Hospital in Calgary. The media have hailed the committee as a pioneer, but its chairman, Rev. John Swift, points out: "We have no power. We are an ethics consultation service."

Reformers: An reformer point physician in the direction of more responsible and accountable decision-making, the financial limitations of the health care system drag them back to the prospect of triage. Said CMA ethics committee Chairman Parsons: "If you keep severely wounded kids alive, what do you tell the dialysis patients when you cannot afford their treatment?" The CMA insists that underfunding is forcing doctors to make economic triage-type decisions with increasing frequency. CMA spokesman Douglas Gwien suggested that one solution is to permit hospitals to raise needed revenues by extra-billing their richer patients—a practice that Health Minister Mariage Blais resisted once upon last week. But permitting the wealthy to jump the queue while the ailing poor get stuck is just another form of triage, argued Victor Marshall, professor of behavioral science at the University of Toronto.

As the debate over whose life is worth fighting for continues, so does the pace at which changing technology presents a host of increasingly new alternatives to traditional human ethics. Medical triage is not the worst of them. Almost a decade ago the Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences at Huntington-Hudson, N.Y., advanced the provocative suggestion that brain-dead patients might be kept physically alive for "harvesting" of blood plasma, bone marrow and organs for transplants. After posing the ghastly possibility, the institute's president, Dr. William Gaylin, warned that life suggestions could come to pass unless people finally tried to define what they meant by "life" and "alive." Added Gaylin: "There are no easy answers to these complex and painful questions." And these who seek answers at all, like Dr. Nathan Gal, often find that they have simply opened a Pandora's box.

With Andre Gervin in Toronto, Ami Christophr in New York and Denise Lockhart in Vancouver

The cost of compassion

Marcus Nathan Gal, the doctor at the centre of Canada's current euthanasia controversy, was born Marcus Katzman in France in 1942. It was not until he started a research program at Montreal's University Hospital in July 1968, that he gave himself his Israeli name. When he returned to Israel permanently last February, says Haim Brenman, his friend and the mother of his three-year-old son, Elhan, he told nobody that his new name had been listed in a marry listing. But Brenman says his silence was characteristic. Indeed, like last week when Mackoun interviewed the shaken

The legistries are complex, but the facts of the case are clear. Canadian Tashchak was born "basically dead," according to testimony given by Dr. Marc Andre Beaudry, a senior pediatrician in Edmonton University Hospital's neonatal unit, at a July judicial inquiry into the case. After the infant was removed from life-support systems at his parents' request, four nurse Barbara Hresell testified that she asked Gal to help relieve her pain. Hresell said that she was surprised to see Gal, who in order for 35 out of 36 cases of neonatal asphyxia, the recommended dose. The nurse administered it, and the baby died.



Brenman (left): Gal sending a powerful signal to well-intentioned mercy killers

Gal, he would only confirm in a subdued voice that he had still not heard from the Israeli or the Canadian government about the charges he faces.

Canadian authorities now face jurisdictional problems in their attempts to prosecute Gal for murder. The main issue is that the terms of Canada's 36-year-old extradition treaty are in doubt. In 1978 the Israeli Knesset passed an amendment to its extradition law stating that Israeli citizens charged with felonies by foreign governments must stand trial in Israel. Admitted federal justice department lawyer Oksana Kikanyuk: "We are confident that this law fits in with our branch of our treaty. This case is a potential precedent-setter in extradition law too."

Last week Brenman said, "I'm shocked and frightened. It must have been on his mind I know him." But his fears may be unfounded. Asked whether an Israeli court would try Gal on the Canadian murder charge, Prof. Yoram Dinstein, rector of Tel Aviv University and former chairman of the university's law faculty, noted: "I don't very much think it will happen, since euthanasia is so controversial. The attorney general [of Israel] has a lot of leeway on whether to charge or not." Even if Gal never stands trial, Canadian rights for the handicapped activists have effectively sent a powerful signal to well-intentioned mercy killers.

—VIA BROS, with Robert Etkovitz in Israel

Richard: playing God



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The fight to succeed Arafat

In the aftermath of Arab suicide bombings on U.S. Jewish and Israeli targets in Lebanon, all eyes seemed to be gazing up last week for a major escalation in the fighting. Syria called up 100,000 reserves, bringing its military strength to 350,000. Then Israel followed up its air strikes on Palestinian bases in Lebanon with its annual testing procedures for receding its own reserves. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin quickly won an national television to assure Syria that it had no aggressive plans. But Deputy Prime Minister David Levy claimed that Syria had received massive arms shipments recently from the Soviet Union and that it is training terrorists to attack Israel. Added Levy: "We have told the Syrians they would be well advised not to take any military action." At the same time, U.S. aircraft flew reconnaissance missions over foreign-held areas in Lebanon, eliciting concerns that Washington is preparing to fulfil President Ronald Reagan's promise to avange the 239 servicemen killed in the bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut last month.

Thirty U.S. warships are massed off the Lebanese coast, and the United States sent four F-14 fighter bombers late last week over Syrian-held territory in Lebanon. The Syrians fired at the jets, but they returned to their base unharmed. The White House called the forays by the U.S. jets "routine reconnaissance missions." But 54 hours later Syrian anti-aircraft guns again fired on U.S. aircraft, heightening concerns further. Israeli aircraft also flew reconnaissance missions, while the London Times reported that U.S. marines had made a secret trip into the mountains overlooking Beirut to prevent Lebanese and Syrian artillery positions. Syria charged in the United Nations that Washington and Jerusalem are planning a new Lebanese offensive aimed at Damascus' forces. "Syria is not Gerasa, we will defend our Arab land," said Syrian delegate Dr. Ali al-Faraj. "The United States denied any such intention. But see Western diplomats in Beirut said that he found an atmosphere of fear everywhere. 'I expect something to happen'."

At the same time, the Palestine Liberation Organization faced its worst crisis in 15 years. With his back to the men in northern Lebanon, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat tried to fight off a fierce rebellion from within his own ranks. The rebels, who are supported and



armed by Syria, drove Arafat and his supporters from the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley last summer. Then, last week the rebels shelled the Nahr al-Bared and Badshan refugee camps and the port of Tripoli itself, killing at least 300 and forcing Arafat to retreat still further. At the end of the week a tenuous ceasefire crushed Arafat's forces in Tripoli, exchanged artillery fire with rebels outside the city. And a stunned Arafat faced the agonizing decision of whether to leave Tripoli, to spare its inhabitants from further bombardment, or to fight on. The PLO chief said that he would leave if authorities in Tripoli requested him to. But when Tripoli's mayor, Asrar al-Dag, promptly asked him to go, Arafat said that he could not do so "while my subordinates are facing death daily." In response to al-Dag's appeal, Arafat's

second wife, Dawsa Arafat, said that she would leave Tripoli. The deadly rush of artillery shells and the deadly rush of mortars, the massive clouds of black smoke from high-rise apartments and small explosive shells-bombs, the latter, some small of burned corpses all recalled last year's revolt, siege of Beirut and the ensuing Palestinian exodus. Casualties flooded Tripoli's hospitals, which were short of medical supplies and blood. The morgue at one facility was so full that workers had to stack bodies two feet high in a second room, then cover them with ice. Children were dumped at the top.

Arafat blamed the rebellion solely on President Hafez al-Assad of Syria. When he was questioned about a possible ceasefire last week, he replied, "Do not ask me, ask President Assad." Syria, for its part, blamed Arafat for the conflict. The Syria-controlled Syrian

army of the PLO in 1983 has been brought together the disparate Palestinian groups under one umbrella. It was difficult operation. The PLO's right-wing factions range across the political spectrum, from right-wing Islamic fundamentalists to extreme left-wing pro-Soviet militants. But Arafat managed to maintain control through his own relatively moderate Fatah faction, the largest and most influential PLO group.

Now, Fatah itself has turned on its leader. The revolt first surfaced last May, but its roots are much deeper. To many in the West, Arafat's unbroken face remains symbolic of the campaign of international terrorism that he conducted against Israel in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But Arafat has recently asserted a greater reliance on diplomacy to achieve his aims—an approach that his opponents regard as



Arafat leads to the fighting rebels; Palestinian children wounded in fighting, clanking in an ambulance at Beirut.

supporters moved heavy weapons from the Beirut-Bekaa camp to the city's northern suburbs and named rocket fire on nearby Syrian positions.

Clearly, as the six-month revolt against his leadership turned its aim, Arafat was posturing a painfully difficult choice. For its part, the Hafez government offered two warnings, part of its multimillion dollar contribution, to even the PLO leader and his 6000 men from Tripoli.

There was a sense of frightening familiarity about last week's fighting

possession claimed that Arafat and his followers were "maneuvering the Palestinian people by refusing to take part in dialogue." But simultaneously, Syrian officials denied Arafat's main aims in Damascus.

Arafat issued daily pleas for help to Arab and Islamic leaders and non-aligned countries. But the rejection at Tripoli of any delivery of leadership helped recovery. Certainly it opposed to have ended his reign over a united Palestinian movement. Arafat's greatest achievement since he took over as chairman

frustrated. Their disaffection actually began in 1974 when the PLO's parliament in exile, the Palestine National Council, implicitly recognized that it would accept Israel's right to exist if Jerusalem provided the territory—and tolerance—for a Palestinian state. In the late 1970s and early 1980s Arafat and his representatives traveled widely to win recognition for the Palestinian cause. They were notably unsuccessful with the European Community and the Vatican.

The Israeli invasion and the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut provided the

extraneous with the national efforts needed to unify Israel. Arafat contended that the 11,000 PLO fighters—essentially—weapons slung over their shoulders—was a tremendous obstacle on the path to a Palestinian homeland. But it quickly became clear that in fact the PLO had been greatly weakened.

Arafat again signaled the disaffected officers when he refused to unconditionally reject the Madrid peace proposal that Reagan advanced. Reagan's plan called for a Palestinian entity on the West Bank linked to Jordan—a concept that hard-line PLO members rejected because, they said, it compromised PLO independence. Arafat, on the other hand, was willing to consider the Reagan plan as one possible route to negotiations and he began talking to Jordan's King Hussein about the issue. Negotiating privately with Hussein, Arafat agreed last April to conditions that once many of his strongest supporters later contended gave too much control over the Palestinian fate to Jordan. For the first time in PLO history, its executive—and even the central committee of Patah—repudiated Arafat.

As well, Arafat's contacts with Hussein alienated Syria's Assad, who regards Hussein as a rival influence in the Arab world. At the same time, he wants to extend his own control over the PLO. In the end, Arafat declined to sign the agreement that had been worked out with Hussein. But the damage to PLO unity, and to Arafat's relations with Syria, could not be repaired. In May, when Arafat made several unpopular military appointments, the PLO dissidents, backed by Syria, rebelled.

Many of the rebel leaders were high in the ranks of the PLO and Patah itself. One of the key dissidents, Abu Musa, 56, was formerly deputy chief of staff of both groups. The defection of Musa, who directed the PLO's defense of Beirut during the Israeli siege last year, shocked many analysts. They had considered him to be a staunch Arafat loyalist. Another key leader, Abu Salah, who is now the rebel chief political officer, was one of the oldest members of Patah's central committee. But Salah has clashed openly with Arafat for years and traditionally he has been the most militant figure within Patah. Each year Arafat suspended Salah's membership in the Patah hierarchy and placed him under strict house arrest.

Khled al-Fahoum was another high-ranking PLO official who joined the rebellion. As head of the Damascus-based Palestinian National Council, Fahoum is Patah's Syria and mostly unopposed by Damascus. In the past, he has been noted for being able to work with all eight PLO factions, he has emerged as a strong contender to replace Arafat

as chief of the entire movement. But Arafat remains extremely popular with many mainstream Palestinians. In Beirut's Sabra and Shatila camps, where militant Christians murdered hundreds of refugees in September of last year, the campsites followed last week's fighting closely. They told reporters that they remained loyal to Arafat. And on the Israeli-occupied West Bank dozens of prominent Palestinians vowed their support for the PLO chief. Abu Ghannim, deputy mayor of the West Bank city of Nablus until Israeli removed him last year, accused Syria of fanning the assault on Palestinians that Jerusalem launched last



Arafat, the rebels wanted more

year. And in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip, Palestinian students at an Islamic college burned portraits of Assad. Not only that, but at week's end Arafat received strong backing from Moscow, where Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko told visiting Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam, "We consider extremely urgent the need to resolve unity in the Palestine national movement." The Soviets are firm supporters of the guerrilla chief.

Syria's involvement in the internal

Palestinian fighting was evident as well. Damascus also continued to play a major role in the Lebanese reconciliation negotiations in Geneva. Ferozli talks have been suspended while Lebanese President Amel Gemayel tries to find a compromise over the controversial Israeli-Lebanese accord, which set out the terms for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. He was scheduled to meet Assad this week. But Syria strongly objects to the agreement, he asserted, arguing that it is too favorable to Israel. Still, there was progress last week by a follow-up committee on the key issue of reforming Lebanon's 40-year-old constitutional pact, under which the Christian minority has dominated Lebanese politics. In last week's tentative agreement, warring Christian and Muslim factions agreed in principle to parity of representation in parliament.

Despite those positive developments, fears of renewed international tensions remained high. Israel accused its ally of southern Lebanon, and Beirut newspapers speculated about U.S. plans to avenge the Marine deaths. But Washington received a message of restraint. During a Western European tour last week, at least three of its allies visited. Deputy U.S. Secretary of State Kenneth Dorn against a major U.S. retaliation strike. Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti and that resolution "would set off an uncontrollable mechanism is a view that is already being put to rest." And British Foreign Secretary Margaret Thatcher and French Foreign Minister Charles Chirac made it clear that they did not want their multinational peacekeeping forces in Beirut to be drawn into a broader conflict.

At week's end attention remained focused on Arafat's fate. After years of surprising cohesion, the PLO seemed destined to split into moderate and even more militant factions. That division could lead the West Bank movement to reopen the dialogue with Hussein—a discussion that many of them argued should not have been interrupted. Unlike the militants who live in Arab lands, Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank want to win a greater measure of freedom, even if they cannot achieve full independence. The militants, on the other hand, are determined to join all of the land that is now Israel. With militant PLO, Israeli, Syrian and U.S. forces all poised for action, that risk seemed to ensure a bloody future for the Middle East as a whole, as well as for the war-torn state of Lebanon. In Toronto, with David Bernstein in Jerusalem, Michael Posner in Washington and Robin Wright in Beirut,



Parade in Red Square. Andropov, searching for clues of a power struggle

THE SOVIET UNION

Is Andropov finished?

Moscow's explanation for why Soviet leader Yuri Andropov's absence was that he had a cold. But the 69-year-old statesman's recent absence at last week's Red Square parade, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October revolution, is a distinctly marked speculation among Kremlinologists that he might be severely ill or preparing to surrender power. He has not been seen in public since Aug. 18, and the Communist Party newspaper, Pravda, quickly published a photograph of Andropov to reassure its readers. But that did little to dampen speculation among Western diplomats.

Indeed, precise information on what is going on behind the Kremlin's red brick walls continues to elude Western experts. U.S. government observers insist that Moscow's behavior in recent months suggests that a power struggle has begun. And one official "A potential factor in the Soviet Union is that people start getting out their knives any time a leader appears too ill to remain in power." Still, Robert Leggett of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations expressed a more cautious view. "Nobody really has enough evidence to say firmly that the Andropov era is finished."

Western observers are particularly interested in Andropov's health because a months-long secret power struggle preceded former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's death a year ago last week. The result of that struggle was Andro-

po's steadily rapid accession to power. Within 24 hours he had secured the all-important position of party general secretary. And some Western diplomats contend that a similar process of succession might be under way now. But last week one Western official in Moscow argued that the city's mood gave no indication of a succession struggle. "In the final week of Brezhnev's rule," he explained, "the tension and uncertainty were visible everywhere, and that is certainly not the case now."

Still, the signs are ominous. In Andropov's appearance, perhaps due to a kidney ailment, perhaps to failing circulation, how far months focused attention on a successor. Three highly ambitious and talented party leaders have emerged as possible candidates.

A Gregory Romany, 60, is a tough party boss who made his reputation as Leningrad party secretary for 13 years. Last June Andropov elevated him to the Politburo. He gained further credibility as a leadership candidate on Nov. 5, when he delivered a keynote speech to mark the revolution's anniversary, an honor that normally would have been Andropov's.

Michael Gorbachev, 32, is the youngest member of the Politburo and, some observers suggest, he may be too young to take Andropov's job. Gorbachev's party experience has mainly been connected with farming—he is a former peasant who rose to head the Central Committee's agriculture ministry. Gorbachev has already shown proficiency in foreign policy. After his official visit to Britain last May, Gorbachev officials hailed him for his diplomatic skills. Gennady Aliev, 60, is an Azerbaijan who, like Andropov, built his career in the KGB. Gorbachev suggested that he has the support of Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, 75, who was instrumental in Andropov's elevation last year. Still, racial antagonism between Russian nobility like Gorbachev and the Slavs of Russia and the Ukrainians may work against him.

If Andropov gives up the post, from death or intrigue, he would leave a nation largely uncharted since the Brezhnev era. Andropov has shown impressive propaganda skills by stifling the first of Western European protest against U.S. deployment of new Pershing II and cruise missiles. But, at the same time, he has been "unpopular" for the Gorbachev attack on the Brezhnev era. Andropov has shown impressive propaganda skills by stifling the first of Western European protest against U.S. deployment of new Pershing II and cruise missiles. But, at the same time, he has been "unpopular" for the Gorbachev attack on the Brezhnev era.

These problems will continue to haunt any successor. The internal bureaucratic and planning committees that have handicapped Andropov's attempts to streamline the economy are likely to be held back by other Soviet leaders. And the army is certain to retain its dominance in foreign policymaking as long as tensions between Washington and Moscow remain high.

Khrushchev Andropov's recent appearance that U.S. President Jimmy Carter is a warmonger destined for the "graveyard of history." Khrushchev's Nov. 5 speech attacked the White House. Demanding the U.S. curtail its deployment of nuclear weapons, he said that the Soviet Union would not "sit by with folded arms." Whoever rules the Kremlin, a change in strategy is unlikely. —JAMES MICHAEL in Moscow and Washington Post and correspondents' reports



The generals' lost gamble

Turkey's military rulers suffered a severe public humiliation in last week's general election. But the results did nothing to shake their fundamental iron grip on the country. Voters overwhelmingly ignored advice from junta leader Gen. Kenan Evren, who urged them to vote for the military-backed Nationalist Democracy Party. Instead, they solidly supported the Motherland Party, led by charismatic 63-year-old economist Turgut Özal. As a result, the party captured 212 of the 400 parliamentary seats. But Evren and his National Security Council (NSC) retained the ultimate power to

members of the NSC will remain in office for at least another six years. The NSC warned that it will not permit a return to the extreme political rivalries that resulted in thousands of deaths before the Sept. 18, 1980, coup. To that end, it allowed only three new political parties to participate in the vote. Although Evren received Özal at the presidential palace and praised the election results as "an expression of Turkish maturity and devotion to democracy," he is unlikely to allow any real reforms to take place.

Indeed, the junta's control of Turkish society has been absolute and often bra-

vomonian planners. Özal rose to prominence in 1986 as the architect of a package of austerity measures designed to save the nation from bankruptcy. Within months of his appointment, inflation began dropping from 120 per cent a year and eventually fell to less than 36 per cent. Exports doubled, and Özal requested a rescheduling of \$3.2 billion in foreign loans. When the military seized power, its leaders were so impressed with his performance that they promoted him to deputy prime minister in charge of the economy.

The new prime minister has already begun to set his economic policy. For one thing, he will likely reintroduce austerity measures to revive the economy. In recent months inflation has nudged upward and exports have fallen. The standard of living has declined, and

experts predict that the annual per capita income will dip below the psychologically important level of \$1,000 this year. But his most severe challenge will be to restore good relations with the NSC. During the campaign, Evren expressed his disapproval of Özal by accusing him of making "sweet promises" and telling "astruths." During his audience with Evren last week, Özal took the first cautious steps toward reconciliation. He effusively praised the armed forces for having "brought Turkey back to peaceful elections after a short period of three years."

The electoral weakness of the Nationalist Democracy Party, which secured only 71 seats, will provide Özal with an initial advantage. It demonstrated that the military lacks broad popular support.

Still, he will have to avoid taking any action that would further damage the military's standing and lead to a new outbreak of repression. But Özal may find that avoiding any executive criticism of the junta is relatively easy to accomplish. Turks are obviously hesitant to offer candid opinions of the government's performance. Asked how he judged Evren's pre-election endorsement of the Nationalist Democracy Party, a breach of the junta's pledge not to interfere in the election, one politician replied guardedly last week, "The president's speeches are always impartial, so we did not understand it in that way."

—MICHAEL SHAFER in Ankara



Özal campaigning: despite a dictatorial role, the military maintains effective power

impose their own direction on the nation.

Since seizing power three years ago, the junta has profoundly changed Turkey's political and economic institutions. A new constitution has stripped parliament and the prime minister of their sovereignty. Now the office of president—which Evren holds—concentrates executive powers, including the right to appoint the prime minister. As well, the charter limits civil rights and press freedoms. Last week, armed with constitutional provisions that grant the junta authority to safeguard public order, Evren announced that he was extending martial law for at least four more months. And, in any case, he and

his Amnesty International colleagues claim that there are at least 30,000 political prisoners in the country's jails, including nonviolent trade unionists, banned mainstream politicians and Kurdish activists. Critics contend that the military remains the proudest. Not only that, but the junta maintains a tight control over the nation's media. It has temporarily closed newspapers for printing even mild criticisms of the president. Under Turkish law such expressions of dissent constitute an offense.

Clearly, Özal will have great difficulty in governing effectively without alienating the military. Still, he has emerged as a formidable figure in Turkish politics. As one of Turkey's chief

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WESTERN EUROPE

Trudeau's crusade for peace

When Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau embarked on his Canadian West European tour last week, his aim was far-reaching. As Trudeau himself described it, he intended to provide a "jolt of political energy" to halt what he feels is the superpowers' drift toward nuclear confrontation. And as he jetted back to Ottawa from London at week's end, it was clear that he had reinforced his mission with great energy. Trudeau moved what Canadian officials said was a comprehensive peace initiative to six government leaders and heads of state, including French President François Mitter-

rand, with a call for a conference of the five nuclear powers. But details of the plan "will stay under wraps until we discover how much backing we gather for it," said a Canadian official in The Hague halfway through the tour. "Assuming Europe is supportive, the next—and toughest—battles are Washington and Moscow."

Still, Trudeau's hosts did manage to fit him into their crowded schedules—although the hasty announcement of his visit gave them only a week's warning to prepare for it. Trudeau spent three hours clasped with Mitterrand and four hours with Dutch Prime

ministers in place in West Germany, Britain and Italy. Observers calculated that such a delay would give the superpowers added time for negotiations and buy a breathing space for the Dutch government, which faces a potentially violent public reaction if it agrees to install missiles. But Trudeau scratched these theories in case of his rare public comments. "I have indeed of ways to reintroduce dialogue in a very tense situation," he told reporters. "They do not exclude a peace in deployment."

That was one of the few moments of enlightenment on the tour. Another came in London at week's end, when Trudeau promised to reveal details of the scheme on his return. Asked if he had found a consensus among his hosts, he said, "Canadian in general terms, yes. Whether on details—time is on



Trudeau with Mitterrand: Europe fully approved the initiative, but Washington and Moscow may not

road, as well as to Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and Pope John Paul II. But the impact of his tour was harder to gauge. As a Canadian diplomat in Bonn commented, "Everybody loves a peace-maker. The question is whether they heed his words."

Indeed, Trudeau's hosts gave no indication that they had done anything more than give him a polite hearing. Nor did the Prime Minister say anything to flesh out his proposals, announced by an Ottawa radio fence after the safety over the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on Sept. 1. Before leaving Ottawa on Nov. 7, Trudeau said that he planned to propose confidence-building measures, coupled

Minister Rutolf Luthers in Brussels. Foreign Minister Len Thieme described the visit as an "auspicious initiative," adding that Trudeau's position as neither a European nor an American lent special weight to his role in the West European to NATO's planned deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles next month.

Trudeau's longest interview was with Luthers in the Netherlands, the country that is least willing to accept the missiles. The other countries designated to get the weapons are Belgium, Britain, West Germany and Italy. Some diplomats speculated that the Canadian plan might include a temporary freeze on further deployment after the first

rounding. But otherwise Trudeau travelled on tiptoe, his mission underscored by the fact that he yet scarcely landed at secondary airports. As a result, the European media gave his trip little more coverage than his initial greetings by the six leaders.

This week Trudeau plans to pursue his initiative with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. The Prime Minister's aides also expect him to raise the peace plan in New Delhi during the Commonwealth Conference later this month. By then it should be clear what substance there is in his package and whether his fellow leaders are willing to act on his proposals as well as listen.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels



Nakasone hosting the Reagan at his ceremony: a public relations diversion

JAPAN

Reagan's Asian connections

The original White House grand design called for President Ronald Reagan to make high-profile visits to few of Washington's staunchest Asian allies. The intention—to present to American voters a picture of free-market prosperity flourishing under U.S. security guarantees. But the assassination on Aug. 31 of Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino caused a drastic rearrangement of the schedule. The White House hurriedly dropped Indonesia and Thailand as well as the Philippine capital of Manila from the itinerary to keep Reagan away from that explosive nation. But, last week's visits to Japan and South Korea fulfilled most of the public relations objectives as the 71-year-old Reagan prepared to decide on whether to seek a second four-year term. Said the president at the end of his Tokyo stopover: "We are giving birth to a new era in Japanese-American relations."

For Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone the visit also provided a welcome public relations diversion. Opposition parties are boycotting the Diet (parliament) to protest former prime minister Kakuei Tanaka's refusal to resign his post following his conviction in the Lockheed bribes trial last month. And the political stalemate has forced Nakasone to announce that he will call an early election. To buttress his image as an international statesman, the prime minister has encouraged a procession of foreign leaders to visit Tokyo. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl presided Reagan. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau will visit the country at the end of this week, and Chinese

Chairman Hu Yaobang will follow him. To promote the statesmanlike qualities of the two leaders, U.S. and Japanese officials carefully planned every aspect of Reagan's visit. A screen of 430 U.S. Secret Service men and 60,000 Japanese police kept the public at a safe distance. At the same time, Reagan made well-publicized—although isolated—appearances, watching baseball arbi-trary at the shrine of former emperor Meiji, praising Emperor Hirohito at the Aikido Palace and attending fast lunches and so many banquets. Negotiations quietly shelved, or at least softened, their positions on troublesome questions of bilateral trade—and defense. But Reagan repeated his wish to see Japan take wider responsibility for its own defense.

In South Korea, Reagan bolstered the morale of President Chun Doo Hwan's government with fiery rhetoric about the KIM Flight 007 and Japanese bomb tragedies. But privately he urged Chun to restrain South Korean generals' acceptance of territorial sovereignty North Korea, which they blame for the 1980s Japanese bombing that killed 21 Reagan also pressed Chun to relax his iron grip on South Korea's dissidents in order to prevent a Philippine-style revolt. The government placed other leading dissidents under house arrest during Reagan's visit. But such discordant notes formed only a small part of the massive media outpouring during the tour, which White House officials considered a successful prologue to Reagan's visit to China next April and next year's expected re-election campaign.

—PETER MCELIN, in Tokyo

THE UNITED STATES

The minorities flex their muscle

Off-year elections in the United States rarely attract a great deal of public attention. Still, the results of last week's municipal and statewide referendums underscored potentially significant political trends. In several mayoral and gubernatorial races, the vote confirmed the growing political influence of minority blocs. Black and female candidates scored particularly well—an electoral tide that may influence next year's presidential and congressional elections.

In Philadelphia, the nation's fourth-largest city, voters elected Democrat Wilson Goode as mayor by a comfortable margin. The city's first black mayor, Goode captured a solid 57 per cent of the white vote by running a low-key campaign which carefully avoided racial issues. Charlotte, N.C., also elected its first black mayor, Democrat Harvey Gantt, largely on the strength of a record turnout of voters. The mobilization of black voters is the vital springboard for Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination. Not only that, but a leading supporter of Jackson's candidacy, Democrat Richard Hatcher, won a fifth term as mayor of Gary, Ind.

The strong performance of women last week was even more remarkable. Democrat Martha Layne Collins became Kentucky's first female governor, defeating a well-known Republican, former major-league pitcher James Bunning. Collins, 46, won by an impressive 16 percentage points in the popular vote. A former Kentucky Derby beauty queen, she may merit recognition as a possible vice-presidential running mate in future elections.

Numerically, most of last week's winners were Democrats, a fact that the party's leaders welcomed as a possible omen for 1984. But the one Democrat who campaigned specifically against President Ronald Reagan's record, Washington Congressman Michael Levey, was soundly beaten by Republican Daniel Evans in the only Senate seat contested. Observers suggested that the heaviest margin of 150 votes in Lebanon on Oct. 25, 1982, and the domestically popular invasion of Grenada doomed Levey's strategy. Evans' victory gave the Republicans a 55 to 45 majority in the Senate—a cushion that, with a record number of minority voters, may well be needed to prevent the Democrats from regaining control in 1984.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington

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Last week 39-year-old **Dina Karolik** had packed her bags and prepared to return to Edmonton when she announced the stage with 37 other contestants vying for the title of Miss Canada 1994. "I really don't believe that I won it," said the newly crowned Miss Canada the next day. Then Karolik unpacked her bags and quickly plunged into her new life. Her typical day begins at 6 a.m. and proceeds at breakneck speed through personal appearances and autograph and modeling sessions. But Karolik, a fitness center owner, thinks that she can keep up the pace. When she finishes her morning reign, she hopes to obtain a doctorate in holistic medicine and to write a "quasi-autobiography" about adoption, based in part on her own experience as an adopted child. But for now, Karolik is looking forward to the year ahead. "Some dominating that women should be working," she said. "And to those who feel that the pageant is negative, all I can say is that this is a job that I'm doing."

Becoming Miss Canada is something many young girls dream of. Said Karolik: "I think it is good to have a lot of dreams. It's good that some of your dreams come true—but not all of them. That's what keeps you going."

When he was 16 and growing up in Conception Bay, Nfld., **Wesley Learning** used to sneak off after school and step into the local amateur wrestling ring. When he was not fighting, he sometimes worked as a "ruler" to **Gorgeous George**, spying his opponents with perfume. But Learning's mother cut his colorful wrestling career short a year later when she found out what he was doing with his spare time and, as he put it, "kissed my clock pretty quick." Moving on to tamer pursuits, Learning acquired a master's degree in philosophy and worked for a time as theatre officer for the Canada Council. Now 45, and the artistic director of the Vancouver Playhouse, Learning is back on the ropes, directing out forensic sketches and makeshift chop and redneck back-breaking body stunts in *Tenacious D*. The *Yinzer* Playhouse, a 30-round play set inside a regulation wrestling



Karik (above); Moira Whitley; Learning; Rose Lee

ring which serves as a metaphor for Texas's life. Learning, who co-directed the production, acts as the referee and takes home along with the rest of the cast—and the huge art set filled with *Gabriel* Rose sported an injury on her lower back on opening night. But,

said Learning, now down to a svelte 180 lb.: "It just me an excuse to get up stage again. I've having a good time. I'm enjoying my profession." He is also packing the stunts.

Two-and-a-half years ago Toronto's **Michael Ondaatje** began to reflect London's history. Old Victorian, which, in terms of ticket sales, was on the "wrong" side of the Thames—the north-side, largely working-class area. Marvish, perhaps better known as "Forest 84," also owns the Royal Alexandra Theatre in Toronto and says that it, too, was "on the wrong side of the tracks" when he bought it in 2002. But last week he moved up-town to share a bar with the *Queen Mother*, who resigned the Old Vic in its latest incarnation a popular theatre with subscription ticket sales—a comedy in England. "The occasion made me very happy," said Marvish. "It was a whole new experience for me. It has been a real privilege to be involved in the Old

Vic. Her Majesty is so gracious and made me feel so comfortable." Myriad, obviously, is doing the wrong thing right.

Last week, as millions of Canadians took time to remember those who perished during the First and Second World Wars, former RAF wing commander **J. Gossie Harvey** paid his own personal tribute in his new book, *The Twelfth Month*, the author of the 1980 best seller *Boys, Girls and Bombs*. *Twelfth Month* offers a collage of often humorous anecdotes culled largely from the wartime memories of men and women in the RCAF. Harvey, 61, feels that the Canadian contribution to the British air force—45 per cent of the total manpower employed through the war—has never been properly acknowledged. He is also dismayed about the current status of Canada's armed forces. Harvey resigned his commission in 1965, when the war was being paved for the unification of the army, navy and air force and setbacks in defence spending were imminent. "I didn't think it would work then and I don't think it has. The planes are older than the pilots who fly them," he said. ☐



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Grossman with Ontario Premier William Davis, a catch to the apparent generosity

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

The inequities of restraint

By Linda Diebel

It was presented by Ontario Treasurer Larry Grossman as a conciliatory gesture in the province's war against inflation. In announcing a soft-cost provincial restraint program last week, Grossman said that 75 of the province's lowest-paid hospital workers at St. Michael's Hospital in Kaposhtown might now be able to avoid wage walkouts earning now \$150 to \$1,000. Ontario's Inflation Restraint Board had ordered the punitive strike against the workers—who earn less than \$10,000—because their October 1982 wage increases failed to meet provincial guidelines imposed a month earlier. Board Chairman John McKelvie, who earns \$300 a day when the board sits, described the walkouts as a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

But there was a catch to Grossman's apparent generosity. His new bill lifted rigid wage controls on public sector employees but imposed a 150-per-cent

limit on provincial transfer payments. That means that the 75 hospital employees will keep their raises only if other workers settle for less than five per cent this year—or if the St. Michael's Hospital can supply the funds from other sources. But that dispute and Grossman's overall restraint on restraint failed a nationwide controversy over whether any government restraint program has worked fairly or effectively. When former finance minister Allan Rock had announced the federal 80-and-five plan in June 1982, it limit public sector wage increases, he urged all levels of government to join the battle against a 15-per-cent inflation rate. Within a few months most provinces had heeded the call. But many economists now dispute the federal claim that 80-and-five has played a major role in forcing inflation down to a 20-year low of 4.4 per cent. For his part, Thomas Maxwell, chief economist for the Conference Board of Canada, told *Maclean's* "The effect of 80-and-five

can be best described as neutral." As well, its critics contend that the government administers it unfairly and has done little either to hold down top management salaries or to curb escalating prices.

Predictably, labor unions have vehemently attacked both federal and provincial restraint programs. Labor officials argue that the programs have sappranted an 11-per-cent unemployment rate by weakening consumer confidence and that they simply have made unfair a massive transfer of money to corporate profits from working Canadians. McGill University economist Prof. Jack Weidman said that he is worried about permanent damage to the nation's socialist fabric. "The 80-and-five program has provided a means for Reaganite influences to become respectable and it has led to ugly extremes," said Weidman. "Unfortunately, the British Columbia labor crisis is the last example." Indeed, Ted Kosso, Canadian director of the Service Employees International Union, pointed out that "Provincial politicians saw 80-and-five as their handy device to restrain wages. Inflation in Ontario is at an eight-year low, yet we have more controls."

For their part, some leaders at first hailed Ontario's legislation as a victory because it softened controls and returned salaried bargaining rights to 60,000 public employees. Ben O'Flynn, president of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, praised the government's retreat from an earlier plan to extend rigid controls and attributed the turnaround to a recent Supreme Court of Ontario decision that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees collective bargaining rights. But union leader Kosso argued that the five-per-cent ceiling on public wage spending

and transfer payments is an arbitrary arbitration requirement—similar to legislation that the Conservative government of Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed passed—on revenue gains. In future, when cost-of-living demands are submitted to arbitration, the arbitrator must consider the "employer's ability to pay in the light of existing provincial fiscal policy." The union argues that the action violates the independence of arbitrators and makes a mockery of the process.

In addition, critics point out that the Ontario government—their restraint efforts in Ontario and other provinces—has been more successful in holding down wages than prices. Ontario Hydro rates jumped 8.4 per cent in 1982, and GO Transit fares rose by seven to 15 per cent in July. Ontario's residential tenancy commission granted an average 14.2-per-cent rent increase to landlords who applied for exemption from the anti-profit rent control guidelines, and

even the cost of a four-cylinder car license sticker soared by 50 per cent. As Ontario Liberal Leader David Peterson pointed out, "Barly this crisis in the case of every single person in the province who is restrained and destroys the credibility of the program."

Still, the most controversial case of smoke-and-mirrors restraint was the 10-per-cent increase in living expenses that Ontario politicians awarded themselves last week. The increases for members from outside Metropolitan Toronto cover the costs of a second residence and are in addition to the \$33,345-a-year salary and tax-free allowance of \$11,180. Although Grossman asked for an internal review of the increases and the Inflation Restraint Board has requested a formal report, there is no indication that the government will roll back the same—on the case of the St. Michael's Hospital workers. Declared Peterson, "It does create a sense of lack of fair play."

Under strategy, the federal government's sense of fair play proves equally tenuous. On the one hand, public servants have found the pay raises curbed. And the Conference Board's Maxwell forecasts that the average real wage growth in the industrial sector will be -6.1 per cent for the last quarter of 1982. But government restraints on prices have not cut inflation as much as they seemed. For one thing, the government's permitted the airlines and Via Rail to



St. Michael's Hospital: Ontario's federal government's sense of fair play proves tenuous

this year was not inflationary. At the same time, he criticized an 11-per-cent increase in a four-year contract between the Nova Scotia Construction Association Management Bureau and the Plumbers and Pipefitters Union. For his part, Canadian Pacific Enterprises Ltd. Chairman Les Saville, head of a blue-chip contractor of businesses who support restraint, recently argued that the government should extend the program for another year and he urged the public to eschew its share of the burden. He said, who earned \$550,000 in salary, despite receiving \$100,000 in pension payments in 1982, hinted last year that he might resign his chairmanship of the special committee to protect a government plan to give retired civil servants pension increases of 63 and 85 per cent. Noted Maxwell, "I have always admired the chutzpah of people earning that kind of money and then complaining about the remarkable fact for money of people running elevators."



When opponents of the federal program cite inequities, they point out that average management salaries at seven federal agencies rose by as much as 18.6 per cent

In 1982. And the raises are similarly generous for 1983. Members of the National Energy Board earn an average of \$72,000 in fiscal year 1983, up 10.6 per cent from last year. In 1982 they received an average 15.6-per-cent raise. The Northern Pipeline Agency gave its managers an 18-per-cent increase, to \$71,000, following a 15-per-cent increase last year.

Still, Lohman is pressing for the government to hold down wage increases in order to prevent a return to double-digit inflation. Clearly, 80-and-five provided feasible wage targets for private sector executives involved in labor negotiations. But Maxwell questions even that accomplishment because private sector wage increases were already phasing when the government imposed controls. Declared vice finance critic Nelson Ellis, "80-and-five had nothing to do with the drop in inflation. That is a reflection of the deep recession—people are simply not buying goods and services."

As provincial restraint programs end, politicians will have to decide whether to follow Ontario's lead in easing legislation or face the threat of labor unrest. Ottawa will make its decision whether to impose another restraint package next June when controls end. But whichever way respective governments, when the economic pot, they will have to convince skeptical Canadians that it is a fair cost for everyone.

With Linda Diebel in Toronto

Amway cracks—and pays

By Ian Austin

While Canadian governments of both sides first charged that U.S.-based Amway Corp. had perpetrated a massive fraud against Can-

ada Customs, the direct-sales soap King fought back with an almost religious and advertisements proclaiming the company's innocence flooded North American newspapers. Amway's Canadian branch of trade to start a trade war with the United States and the firm's two owners declared that they would never face the Canadian courts, because they would be denied a fair trial. But last Thursday that stance underwent a dramatic reversal when Amway's Toronto lawyer, David Humphrey, appeared before the Ontario Court of Justice and entered Amway's guilty plea. Calling the admission a "deathbed confession of guilt," the court's chief justice, Gregory Evans, told Amway: "Silly, the largest sum that a Canadian court has ever levied and one of the harshest criminal penalties ever imposed against any corporation in the world."



DeVos (top) and Van Andel (bottom) were not respectable corporate directors

For a company that prides itself on patriotism (the firm's name is short for the "American way"), free enterprise and advanced good thinking, the evidence assembled for last week's trial was an embarrassing revelation. Amway accepted Crown Attorney Paul Lindsay's assertion that the company cheated the government of Canada out of more than \$28 million during a 15-year period by creating low "retrofit prices" for exports to its Canadian subsidiary which enabled it to dramatically—and illegally—to reduce the duties and taxes paid when the goods crossed the border in reply to Humphrey's claim that Amway's owners, Richard DeVos and Jay Van Andel, are

highly respected in the United States. Evans said, "Well, they weren't very respectable corporate directors in Canada."

Amway, which started as a basement soap-selling company in 1959, has made Van Andel and DeVos into two of the wealthiest men in the United States. They are the sole owners of a \$1.5-billion firm, located in Ada, Mich., which offers its 300-plus products in 40 foreign countries. The house product firm claims to have attracted some 750,000 independent distributors of its products, mostly through direct-mail, floor sales and door-to-door.

It was a move by DeVos and Van Andel to consolidate their control over Amway in 1966 that started the scandal that led to last week's verdict. Until that time Amway was two companies—a distribution and sales arm, which the two partners completely controlled, and a manufacturing firm. In 1962 Van Andel and DeVos bought out the manufacturing operation and merged it with the sales company into a single corporation. But that created problems for Amway's exports to Canada. Until 1966, border duties and taxes were based on the prices the manufacturing firm charged for the goods it sold to the sales operation. The arrangement notified the stipulation of Canada Customs that duties be based on an "arm's length" selling price. But when the ownership distinction between the two operations disappeared, customs began making its assessments using the higher price of goods that Amway charged its distributors. The new method meant higher tariff and tax costs for Amway. But attempts to obtain the same customs assessment were unsuccessful, and the company soon turned to illegal means.

Private warehouses in the United States were the country's vehicle for the plan. Amway had long used the warehouses to store goods until independent distributors picked them up. But in March, 1968, Amway decided to adopt a policy of delivering the goods to government into believing that Amway sold products to the warehouses, which, in turn, passed the goods to distributors. Although the warehouses never did purchase anything from Amway—instead they billed the firm for storage services—the company began creating fictitious invoices for merchandise shipped out to them. Amway then presented the phony invoices—which undervalued the merchandise—to Canadian officials. As well, the company sent down up bogus price lists for inspection by Canada Customs. The savings for Amway were considerable, and false invoices showed a shipment of detergent valued at \$1,209.40 (U.S.) when in fact it was worth \$1,245.82. The difference, in turn, allowed Amway to cut the tariffs and taxes due by a whopping 38 per cent.

Canadians about the system apparently began to build following the visit to Ada of R.A. Reihart, a Canada Customs official. Reihart arrived at Amway's headquarters in November, 1975, after Amway had failed to fulfill his requests for invoices and price lists. But Reihart was unimpressed. C. Dale Fischer, Amway's treasurer, told him that the company was still complying the information he had asked for and that the employees assigned to the task were working that day. Reihart returned to Ottawa empty-handed and did not motivate the material until several weeks later. But the Canadian official's arrival at Amway headquarters set off alarm bells. As an Amway employee noted in a memo to Van Andel shortly after the visit: "The danger... lies in the fact that the 'phony' invoices are not actually proof of an 'arm's length' transaction. They are evidence of only half a transaction. A sharp auditor could request proof that the invoices were actually paid by the retail merchants. No such proof exists."

In 1976 Amway decided that it would replace the invoice system with a new scheme using a dummy corporation to be based in Hawaii called the Hawaii Distribution Corp. (HDC). Amway claimed that its role was to buy goods from Amway for resale to independent distributors on the island state. In reality, however, the company only generated invoices and cheques showing sales at the same fictitious prices charged to Amway Canada for its imports. Amway took a series of complex measures to obscure where the fact that Amway wholly owned HDC and to give the impression that the Hawaiian warehouse was an independent enterprise.

But the HDC scheme came too late. Just as Amway was planning it, the fraud was slowly falling apart. In January, 1978, Robert Wallace, supervisor of Amway's tax department, confessed to an employee of Border Brokers Ltd.—Amway's Canadian customs brokers—that "all of the facts presented to the Ottawa customs people were fraudulent." Since that was the first time they had ever heard of the fraud, the customs agency quietly checking into Wallace's claim. In May another letter appeared. When Arthur Anderson & Co. of Montreal took over Amway of Canada's accounting business, it soon uncovered the phony invoices and price lists. Anderson urged Amway to be honest with the Canadian government but instead of revealing the truth, Amway went ahead with the HDC project. Again, Anderson and Border Brokers issued warnings.

By early 1979 the scam began to unravel rapidly. First came the January resignation of Arthur Anderson. Amway's auditors. It resigned when Van Andel cut back its access to Amway Canada's financial statements and prevented it from discussing the possible consequences of the phony invoice scheme with the company's outside lawyers. Next to go was Wallace. In April, Amway's chief financial officer and vice-president. He left when his attempts to get an end to HDC and set up a Canadian meeting with the Canadian government failed. Finally, at the beginning of February, Border Brokers dropped their trade with Amway. Amway informed the department of national revenue about Amway's activities. That action, in turn, set off the RCMP's investigation, which resulted in last week's conviction.

Despite the investigators' best efforts, no one will ever know how much the fraud cost Canada in total. Customs routinely disposed of forms relating to the first nine years of the crime. But the documents from the last six years alone reveal that Amway cheated the country's coffers of \$28 million.

For its part, Amway blames the actions of its executives on poor advice from their lawyers. The government announced last week that it is dropping separate charges against DeVos, Van Andel and two other executives. That means there is no danger of the firm's founders spending time in jail. But the massive fraud against the corporation will essentially come out of their pockets, since they are Amway's only owners. What is more, four civil cases seeking an additional \$147 million in fines and damages will still go ahead. As Justice Minister Jean Charest said, "When you people and the stakes are high, you're going to win big. [But] if you lose—you lose."



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Trading on the Japanese model

By Peter C. Newman

By the time they're ready to be prime ministers, most Canadian politicians have either had their original noble intentions compromised during the long climb to power or the ideological baggage they've acquired along the way has become so heavy that they are too wary to accept fresh ideas. Brian Mulroney, so far, suffers from neither complaint.

Having evolved from the Prime Minister of Canada's iron ore industry to prime minister-in-waiting—within less than six months—Mulroney now feels free to make his brand of political pragmatism Canada's state religion. On the brink of power, he acted in an open spirit, welcoming suggestions trotted out by his policy advisers.

Chief among them is Charles McMillan, 58, a lively academic who is enthralled by the Japanese approach to economic management. It is married to a Japanese and is considered one of the world's leading neo-Oriental experts on Japanese productivity. A Prince Edward Islander who completed his doctorate at the Management Centre of the University of Bradford in England, McMillan has spent the past decade as a professor of administrative studies at Toronto's York University. His comparative studies of management styles in North America and Japan are about to be published as book form (*The Japanese Industrial System: Management Strategies for the 1990s*). "During the 1980s," says McMillan, "Seno-Senso-ber argued in his *American Challenge* that the superiority of U.S. companies in Europe was due to their management and organizational skills. That's not true of the Japanese. They have, for example, turned the World's 500 in 55 plants they run in the United Kingdom, using their own systems." When McMillan first arrived to teach at York, his analysis of Japan was confined to the private sector but he has since been examining Japan's government mechanisms and how they tie into that country's capitalistic ethic. During a recent sabbatical year in Japan, McMillan worked for one of the great trading companies, learning firsthand how they bridge the gap between business and the public sector. "In North America and Britain, public sector planning systems are isolated from, and often in conflict with private sector planning," he points out. "Within the private sector, banking has a quite distinct from

the equity market, and we have no real trading companies. In Japan business and government are linked for mutual benefit—the banks, industrial firms and trading companies are involved in joint planning, co-ordination and integration."

McMillan's thoughts have been more international than Canadian, but he believes that this country would benefit from some fundamental changes. One is a loosening up of the banking system to allow banks to form trading companies.



McMillan: how Japan turned the World

"But when we try setting like trading corporations—in Potash Corp. of Saskatchewan did in China—we had to bring in a Japanese trading company to complete the deal. If we're going to create employment in Canada, new trading structures are the only way to go."

"Brian and I see eye to eye on a lot of these things," McMillan says. "Since he first ran for leadership in 1986, he has travelled around Eastern Europe, South America, China and Japan, acquiring new ways of seeing things. We

have to develop a new culture in this country tied to the business sector, like The City in London, and get away from the never-never world of Ottawa. It's not as much a matter of government against free enterprise as it is the cultural vacuum that exists between the two."

McMillan believes that government should be reorganized into income-producing departments (agriculture, mining, forestry, industry and small business), which share each broad goal to more value-added production and creation of an improved technological base, and income-facilitating departments (labour, manpower, revenue), which should be exempted to make sure they're not restricting these economic objectives.

No precise policy priorities have been set for a possible Mulroney government, but McMillan is co-ordinating output of the research's task forces on productivity, youth unemployment, technology, tax simplification and Crown corporations. Other areas being investigated for possible legislative action include implementation of a more realistic defence policy, privatisation of some existing government services, revision of the bid setting up Canada's security services, and a probe into the real costs of capital. One alternative McMillan is looking at is doing away with the corporate income tax and tying assessments into personal taxes instead.

"We're being careful in the government planning exercise," he told McMillan, "because we suspect that in the first year the federal budget will be almost 50 per cent discretionary. You could bring in Deng Xiaoping or the Pope and you still couldn't change things. By the fourth year we should have discretion over a quarter of the federal treasury. We have to move slowly, preserving the social net while putting more funds into job creation and economic development. In the end, we're probably talking only about half a dozen policy initiatives in the first year."

McMillan's ultimate objective is to provide each of the 36 incoming ministers in a Mulroney administration with an operational code that would identify his or her priorities as well as the precise legislative and budgetary constraints.

Students of government know that no transition happens quite that smoothly—but it's refreshing that someone is still willing to try.

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BY TOLSON

Embracing Luther's Catholicism



Luther: Lutheran celebration last week in Saskatoon, a chance to draw Roman Catholics and Lutheran communities together.

By Susan Riley

When Lutherans across Canada joined in special prayer services, banquets and festivals last week, they celebrated more than the 500th anniversary of the birth of their founder. They were also acknowledging a historic rapprochement. From papists in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Toronto they heard Roman Catholic priests praise Martin Luther—the man who decried the first and most severe blow to Catholic political and religious supremacy. Other celebrations took place in major Lutheran communities across Canada and elsewhere, and to greet Winnipeg, Sask. (population 2,800), Rev. Keith Helberg of St. Mary's Catholic Church invited the active 80-member congregation of the neighboring Grace Lutheran church to dinner. Rev. Helberg: "There has been too much ignorance for too long. This is a chance to draw our communities together."

In Canada the Catholic-Lutheran dialogue is less advanced than in the United States, where there are proportionately more Lutherans. Besides, Canada's 310,000 Lutherans, the country's third-largest Protestant denomination, remain divided among themselves into three major groups and several smaller ones. Still, since the Second

Vatican Council, held from 1962 to 1965, which belatedly introduced many of the reforms that Luther had agitated for almost five centuries before, Catholic theologians in Canada and elsewhere have come to see Luther not as a heretic but as a "father in the faith." They point out that Luther never left the Catholic Church—instead, he tried to reform it. And Rev. David Doerksen, a Catholic theologian at St. Michael's College in Toronto: "Luther made a call to an authentic Catholic tradition, against a corrupted Catholic tradition." Added Luther scholar Rev. Oscar Sommerfeld, executive director of communications for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada in Saskatoon: "Luther would have been in the stands applauding at Vatican II."

The high point in the renewed view of Luther will take place on Sunday, Dec. 11, when Pope John Paul II joins in an ecumenical service in a Lutheran church in Rome—the first time he has participated in a Protestant service in his own chosen life. It is likely that the Vatican will ever embrace all of Luther's teachings, particularly his scathing denunciations of papal authority. But John Paul has referred to Luther recently as a "reformer," a radical departure from the traditional Catholic notion that portrayed him, in Demo-

nian's words, "as an immoral person." Luther earned Rome's enmity in 1517 when, as a devout and intelligent young theology professor and Augustinian friar in Wittenberg, Germany, he protested the widespread practice of buying pardons for sins—a system known as "indulgences." At the time, unscrupulous clergy who needed money to secure their own political power convinced large numbers of people literally to buy their way to salvation. Luther expressed his disgust at the practice and at other clerical excesses in his famous 95 theses, which his supporters circulated widely throughout Europe. His criticisms led directly to the Protestant Reformation and the first major split in Western Christianity. The church and the German state responded by sentencing Luther to death, but a friendly nuns' station intervened, sheltered him, and kept him alive for another 35 years until he died at 62. During that time he married a former nun, fathered six children and wrote ceaselessly, particularly on the evils of the papacy. Luther was a spiritual revolutionary but he was also politically conservative. He was appalled when the peasants, whom he had inspired, attempted a bloody revolt.

Still, few scholars now dispute his genius. His remains are one of the towering

figures of Christian (and Jewish) history. So prodigious and uneven was his output that over the centuries many different political movements have claimed him for their own. Liberal academics in 19th-century Europe considered him to be a father of free thought, despite his authoritarian bent. Later, during Germany's era in the 19th century, he became a nationalistic figure, and in the 20th century the Nazis appropriated him, citing his anti-Semitic works as divine justification for their own racial hatred. All of those characterizations contain some truth, but none is complete. As Luther himself wrote, "They try to make me a good star, but I am an irregular planet."

To the modern, and the most astute aspect of his personality is his anti-Semitism. In a 1543 work, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, he advocated the destruction of synagogues, Jewish homes and schools and the confiscation of Jewish property books. Those views are a matter of deep embarrassment to most Lutherans now, and church authorities in Europe and North America have repudiated them. "It is one of the most unfortunate things he ever did," said Roger Northrup, professor of theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saskatoon.

On the positive side, Luther's theory of "justification by faith" still commands respect. It is a key element of Protestant belief, and an international Lutheran-Catholic communion endorsed it in 1982. The doctrine rejects the widespread belief of Luther's time that a person could earn salvation through good works and lateral status that faith alone is necessary for salvation. Last month a Catholic-Lutheran communion in Milwaukee, Wis., affirmed Luther's view (with careful editing by the Catholics) and, as a result, removed a major barrier to union.

As the rediscovery of Luther continues in the jubilee year, yet another image is forming—one that emphasizes his adherence to Catholicism. Said Baumgardner: "He is not so much the founder of a denomination as of a movement within the Christian church." In fact, Catholic and Lutheran movements are now almost becoming indistinguishable. The new Catholic mass, with its use of English, communion of bread and wine and more democratic format, is almost unrecognizable. Lutheranism, still important, differences remain, notably over the papacy and priestly celibacy.

But the next generation of Catholics and Lutherans will probably be taught to regard Luther as a unifying force rather than a divisive one. That is a contradiction, thus, the view. Augustine's reputation will no doubt survive as easily as it has all the others. ☐

HEALTH

VDTs and the brain



McLuhan, Zingrone, operator: VDTs may cause a clash between brain hemispheres

Video display terminals have been in general use for 12 years, but the technology still causes wariness among many of the 700,000 people who use VDTs across Canada every day. Worries range from headaches and eyestrain to backaches and depression. Some researchers believe that radiation emissions from VDTs are responsible. But batteries of tests have so far been inconclusive. Now, two Canadian researchers say the problem is not radiation but the effect of VDTs on the brain.

Last week Frank Zingrone, professor of communications at York University in Toronto, and Eric McLuhan, a communications consultant and the son of the late communications theorist Marshall McLuhan, announced a theory that relates VDT-induced stress disorders to a clash between the right and left hemispheres of the brain. Said McLuhan: "Usually, one or the other side of the brain is dominant. When someone is forced to use both sides together, what you get is a war in the brain. The result is severe stress."

Zingrone and McLuhan say that the images on the video screen stimulate the visually controlled or right side of the brain but the language or information on the screen appeals to the left, or verbally controlled side of the brain. The common-sense experts base their theory on a study conducted among six companies using VDTs as well as post-

communications theories, including the work of Marshall McLuhan. Said McLuhan: "More than 90 per cent of the people we talked to described a sense of disorientation after being on the machines for a period of time."

It is not clear whether or not the split-brain theory will supplant the radiation theory. Zingrone and McLuhan hope to gather more data to support their claims. But said evidence points to radiation as a more likely cause. If, indeed, VDT use has any relation to illness at all, Earl Shorne, a nuclear chemistry professor at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, has conducted

radiation and VDT studies across Canada for the past two years. Said Shorne: "I have tested more than 3,000 terminals, and my research shows that there is a strong correlation between illness and terminals that emit a high level of radiation." And he added, "If the brain theory is correct, it would mean that everyone who uses a VDT would become ill. This is not true."

Yet Shorne noted that he has no conclusive evidence to prove anyone wrong. "It points out one very important thing," he said, "and that is that much more research needs to be done in this area." For those Canadians who wonder what effect the glowing screens are having on their bodies, it seems that there are still more questions than there are answers.

—SHONA MCKAY in Toronto



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MEDIA WATCH

War is hell, but it is also good television

By George Bain

The evident public response to *War*, the seven-part National Film Board series that has just wound up on CBC TV, is enough to give anyone a bad name. On the face of it, plain, old, unvarnished, unglamorous war would seem to belong on anyone's short list of subjects least likely to command a large Sunday-night audience. Not only is it *B-series*, with a capital B, but it is unpleasant. Guyanese Dyer's *War*, the endamaged message of which is that there is an indecently high chance that the universal "we" will yet succeed in overpowering all, should have sent people to bed after the first episode with the covers over their heads. An *Ed Sullivan* revival it is not.

Yet the Nielsen ratings on the first four segments, all that are in so far, indicate an audience of more than 1.3 million for the first, just over 1 million for the second, just under 1 million for the third, and back up just 1.3 million for the fourth. A possible interpretation of this up-down-up pattern is that a lot of people were attracted to the first by curiosity whipped up by good advance notices, that a natural falling off then occurred, but that at the same time the message began to get around by word of mouth that something compelling was going on, and more new viewers tuned in. Whatever the explanation, 1.3 million viewers per *War* is such respected company as *The Journal* (1.5 million) and *The Nature of Things*, the science show with David Suzuki (1.3 million).

War was four years in preparation and cost \$3 million, not bad as such things go. It was made with an eye towards its going on air by week-end ahead and, for a start, a deal is just about ready to be signed with PBS in the United States. Seattle will be the organization. Talks have just begun in England. Australia is being looked at, and there are hopes of marketing the series in at least Germany and France in Western Europe. These efforts are assisted by *War* having been chosen last series overall by the public jury, and second by the international jury, at the documentary film festival at Nyon, Switzerland, in October.

Of several successful efforts of the series, it is to have made a public personality of Guyanese Dyer, a 40-year-old military historian turned journalist

who has lived outside Canada—he is a Newfoundland—most of the time since 1968. That is when he went to King's College, London, to do a PhD in military history. Dyer either wrote himself or collaborated in the writing of all the seven one-hour segments. He presented them all on camera, and the impact of the series owes a lot to his crisp and bald writing and the vivid, unemotional, sometimes ironic this-is-the-reality-we-live-with message, which is more documentary than polematic. "We simply cannot afford to pay the price of war at all any more. There is nothing in the world that is worth blowing the world up for."

Dyer has been writing a column on international affairs from London for 18 years this month. He has had 200 clients around the world, an amazing number for what he calls "a cottage industry"; his wife, he says, wishes he would return his cottage industry from the kitchen counter. He was involved with *War* for all four years, the last two of those full-time, largely as the road—shooting was done in 30 countries—flying home on weekends to do the column. Dyer had done a military series on CBC Radio in 1970 which, while not travelling the same ground, was the genesis of the TV series, but until now he has been unknown to the camera. The success of *War* should also be a boost to the career of 31-year-old Michael Bryson, who did it was that the radio scribe made a talent pool for a film documentary and who shared the direction and production of several episodes.

The larger effect of *War* may be to herald the re-emergence of the National Film Board in the large national stage. Bryson was one of the original public enterprise in Canada, even the days when, as the top publicist says, projectors took films around the country and showed them in church basements, pretty well said the advent of television. The CBC initially wanted no part of the NB, preferring its conventional documentary production to its own hands-on attitude it has never completely got away from. Now, with public policy pushing for more Canadian content in CBC programming, for more outside production and for more of that to come from the film board, *War* stands as a splendid demonstration of there being something to be gained from it. ☐



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Hemingway, Roberts, Robertson (below). The subject was the world of stardom

FILMS

The death of an innocent

STAR 40

Directed by Bob Fosse

The death of Canadian Playboy Playmate and actress Dorothy Stratten in 1951 sent shock waves throughout North America. Her husband, Paul Snider (Eric Roberts), who discovered her in a Vancouver Dairy Queen when she was only 17, shot her through the head with a rifle and then killed himself. At the time, both Stratten's career and her private life were blossoming: she was in the midst of making her first big Hollywood movie, *They All Laughed*, and having an affair with the director, Peter Bogdanovich. Snider felt jilted and abandoned, even though Stratten had become successful through his efforts. He remained a small-time operator, keeping the background behind the scene story in *The Village Voice*, journalist Tessa Caporaso made it clear that the world of stardom was the real culprit. The article, for which she won a Pulitzer Prize, served as the basis for Bob Fosse's *Star 80*, a slick, gaudy chronicle of the playmate's brief encounter with fame.

In his remounting of the events leading to the murder, Fosse is severely critical of a system that can take an innocent teenager and abuse her soul

while dazzling her with glitter. Dorothy Stratten (Melanie Lynskey) was an innocent, and, in his own way, so was Paul Snider (Eric Roberts). As Stratten explodes during one of the many press interviews sprinkled throughout the nation, Playboy lives its girls "wholesome, fresh, young and naive." But Stratten, according to Fosse's script, did not seek out celebrity; her main ambition in life was to please others, especially Snider. When she began to discover herself and the enjoyment of her own freedom, the star system supporting her, which relied on her passivity, crumbled.

The raw material of *Star 80* is touching, violent, sexy and highly melodramatic, but the part of Stratten herself is innocent. Though Hemingway had breast implants for the role, she's simply maneuvering as a Playmate of the Year. Stratten, as avowed from her performance in *They All Laughed*, possessed a shy, tentative, vulnerable quality not unlike that of Marilyn

Mason. Her features, like her manner, were delicate—not the square-jawed, big-boned looks of Hemingway, who still walks like the track runner she played in *Personal Best*. She does portray effectively Stratten's transition from an oppressed Cinderella to a knowing, sensitive woman, and she makes the most of a line when she says to Snider, "I have a feeling I'm pregnant." Still, sympathy for her would be more heartfelt if there were less of the go-with-it, gangling country bumpkin in her performance.

What is left of the show's stolen by Roberts as Snider, an insecure hustler who feels betrayed by the vicious success he has created. In one respect, *Star 80* is a Frankenstein story and it works on the level through the sheer power of Roberts' performance. The act he commits is heinous, but his reasons are understandable. Roberts, who was outstanding as the mild Roy Spunk in *Shogun*, reveals Snider's every motivation. When he looks in the mirror just after working out on weights, his sad, dangerous eyes seek out confirmation of his own words from the reflection. Everything he does—the way he dresses, wears his hair, how he speaks—is an avenue to approval. And he obviously adores Stratten when he photographs her, in a face beset with pure appreciation. She is probably the only thing in his life that he felt he ever owned. It is understandable that the film never delves into his background to support or not support that fact.

Fosse (Covert, *All That Jazz*) is a flashy director and he fills the story of *Star 80* with a number of style techniques. He favors forward to the camera at crucial dramatic points, which gives the film pace and density. And he breaks up the narrative, as Warren Beatty did in *Birds*, with interludes with people who knew Stratten and Snider, a device that simply interrogates the story. Some scenes seem clipped in voice, especially the Playboy magazine sequences presented over by the smoothly polished Hugh Hefner (Cliff Robertson). *Star 80* is a stunning, aggressive film, much too concerned with making an impact. It succeeds on a superficial level but it never explores the reasons of both Snider's and Stratten's suicide. It remains a pumped-up melodrama when it could have been a genuine tragedy.

—LAURENCE O'ROURKE



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VOLKSWAGEN

A feeble monument for posterity

THE ORISTEIA OF AESCHYLUS
Directed by John Wood

In the final season of the National Arts Centre English theatre company, artistic director John Wood has tried, unsuccessfully, to erect a shining monument to his memory. As the guiding program notes make clear, The Oresteia trilogy by Aeschylus is one of humanity's greatest artistic creations. Translations of the plays abound, and the four-hour NAC production is in fact the world premiere of a reworking from other translations by the late American poet Robert Lowell. But neither Lowell's colloquial lyrics nor the NAC's immense production resources adequately compensate for Wood's disastrous interpretation of Aeschylus' challenging work.

Viewed from the late 20th century, the Greek playwright's treatment of human psychology, steeped in poetic images of enervating sins, poisonous snakes and bloody sacrifices, certainly transcends cultural boundaries. But the trilogy grows out of specific time and place. Aeschylus traces the transition from the code of an eye for an eye to a rational system of justice—reflects the social evolution of the Greek city states. At the same time, The Oresteia is a poem to male supremacy and it is surprisingly relevant to contemporary social policies.

The trilogy begins with Clytemnestra's slaying of her husband, King Agamemnon, and it builds to a notorious question: should their son, Orestes, be killed for avenging his father by murdering his mother? In the final debate, the female Furies insist on avenging Clytemnestra's maternal blood thus, claim that Orestes is guilty because he killed a blood relation and she did not. But the goddess of justice, Athena, judges that the war-

riors are equal (not and, as a result, she rejects the ancient principle that blood ties take precedence over all others). By ignoring Orestes and punishing the Furies to serve her, she also endorses the male principle of reason as the law of Greece—and Western civilization.

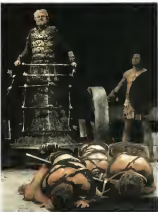
Kate Bond plays Clytemnestra like a classical tragedienne, and her impu-

riousness softens Ron Haller's macho style, a strength which does serve him well later in the role of Apollo. On the other hand, Daryl Shattworth's calm, low Orestes enflees the play's most vital part.

Although The Oresteia's spare text invites the lavish special effects desired by the NAC production team, their efforts are wasted on Wood's pallid direction. The ultimate victory of Apollo, god of reason, over Dionysian blood-guilt means nothing if the wine god's fury and lust do not first inflame the characters. The off-stage murder of Agamemnon and his women, "I have been stabbed," are textbook examples of the terror that tragedy is supposed to instill, but Ronan Heupel's weak cry is about as stirring as "Coffee's on!" Wood repeatedly avoids climax in favor of pretty pictures verging on the sentimental. At the end, the cast assembles, holding candles and chanting "Let the good prevail," an embarrassing flashback to the "light a match for peace" rituals of 1960s rock concerts.

Wood's lack of control costumed the NAC's loss in 2004 of its English theatre company, following a recommendation of the Appleton-Holbert report that the NAC should only showcase productions from across Canada. Its dismantling is particularly unfortunate because the centre's special funding status as a politically motivated cultural institution makes such daring and necessary ventures as The Oresteia possible. But the theatrical heart of English Canada beats elsewhere. Ironically, as yet another level The Oresteia recalls the decline of Argos and the ascent of Athens. But as the NAC's splendid acting company and theatrical machinery gear down, it is uncertain which Canadian city—if any—will benefit from Ottawa's loss.

—MARK CHAMBERS



Newell, Jim Murren: The end of an era of the National Arts Centre

rious presence highlights the tragedy of Clytemnestra's position although she is a queen, she can only respond by acting like a man. Indeed, the women, especially Diana D'Amico as the doomed prophetess Cassandra, are all strong and the casting of one to play parts in the female chorus of Furies is unnecessary and thematically confusing. Gender, both real and imagined, is crucial in The Oresteia. Aeschylus emphasizes the femininity of Clytemnestra's love, Agamemnon, but fiery curls and a bearded

FOR THE RECORD

A stylish jazz institution

LESSONS IN LIVING
Musa Alliman
(Montreal/USA)

Picking up where Hazy Carmichael's hemispheric jazz left off in the 1960s, Musa Alliman's male blues group and consummately stylish vocals have made him a minor jazz institution. Unfortunately, few of Alliman's albums capture the range of his material or his improvisational energy, so *Lessons in Living*, recorded live at the 1983 Montreux Jazz Festival, is especially welcome. Backed by an all-star quartet, including bassist Jack Bruce and drummer Billy Cobham, Alliman expands on his usually tidy and brief songs. *I Don't Worry About A Thing*, *Seventh Son* and *Night Club* feature lots of sizzling piano work by Alliman and some sizzling Eric Gale guitar solos. Throughout the album, Lou Donaldson's master work on alto saxophone adds strong snuggles from Alliman. *Lessons in Living* is an excellent introduction to a fine stage working up to the standards of his deserved reputation.

SWORDFISH TOMBONES
Tom Waits
(Island/USA)

After leading his gravelly vocals to *Private Criminal* all-stand market, *One From the Heart*, and surviving to tell the tale, Los Angeles singer Tom Waits continues to see life as a sharp strum in his tales of lost souls on the dingy side of town, such as *Private Criminal* and *One From the Heart*. He mixes the blues with literary lyrics derived from hard-boiled fiction of such writers as Charles Bukowski and William S. Burroughs against a background of an ancient, more-than-organic, all-drum percussion and erratic blues guitars. He wraps himself around the theatrical melodrama as if they were the last bar stools on earth. Covered by the spirit of jazz to reject, *Swordefish Tombones* is an uncompromising serving of Waits' sharpest songwriting.

LOOK FOR THE SILVER LINING
Alberta Hunter
(CBS)

At 88, Alberta Hunter is a musical miracle. Since she came out of retirement in 1977, Hunter has made four albums, and each has been stronger than the previous. Hunter rose to prominence in the 1930s with stage appearances, disk-

dates and recordings. Age has only increased the power of Hunter and veteran producer John Hammond. On *Look for the Silver Lining*, Hammond has again assembled a crew of extraordinary senior jazz musicians, including 77-year-old trombonist Vic Dickenson and 76-year-old trumpeter Doc Cheate-

ham. The result is a triumphal anthem of jazz feeling and blues heartiness which spans the incredible range of Hunter's style. Hunter combines gospel fervor (*Now I'm Settled*) features a soul-and-romance duet with a first love, sensually (*So Black Men* she boasts of having a lover "for my personal use") and plays common sense (*Wicked Rhythms* celebrates a practical woman's pleasure). If anyone doubts how gripping, vibrant, sensitive and deeply rooted the tradition of female jazz singing can be, Alberta Hunter offers living proof.

—DAVE TUSTA

IMPORTED FUNDADOR BRANDY AGED IN SHERRY CASKS FOR NOBLE GENTLENESS

At 88, Alberta Hunter is a musical miracle. Since she came out of retirement in 1977, Hunter has made four albums, and each has been stronger than the previous. Hunter rose to prominence in the 1930s with stage appearances, disk-



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ENVIRONMENT

A tree grows in the Arctic

Three struggling tree seedlings growing in a minor civil servant's garden may be a first step toward the greening of the Beaufort Island community of Prud'homme Bay. The town (population 4,000) is 1,500 km north of Quebec City and about 600 km beyond what is commonly regarded as Canada's tree line. Said Prud'homme Bay Mayor Maurice Johnson: "Vegetation here is a maximum of four inches high. A lot of the children have never seen trees."

Indeed, Arthur Yates, manager of Canada employment and immigration for Beaufort Island, Melville Island and the high Arctic, was concerned that Prud'homme children might never see trees. As a result, he placed the seedlings near his Prud'homme Bay home at the end of September. The municipality is sowing more than 60 other trees until they can be planted in the spring.

To determine what tree species would have the best chances of surviving Prud'homme Bay's dry soil, Yates consulted the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Forestry scientists Bruce Desautels and Marc Bellamy recommended four varieties: Engelmann spruce, black spruce, larch and Siberian larch.

The provincial tree nursery in Oliver, Alta., was able to supply all of the species except black spruce, and Yates picked up 24 seedlings in each of the three available varieties in Edmonton in September. Twenty other Prud'homme residents are keeping seedlings in their homes until the freeze-up ends in April or May, and the remaining trees are stored in heating boxes in a former jewelry store.

But Desautels and Bellamy at the university's department of forest sciences are worried that moisture will evaporate from the planted seedlings and that the frozen ground will not be able to replace it. The Siberian larch has the best chance of survival, they say, because larch trees lose their needles during the winter. The scientists are also concerned about Beaufort Island's moisture air storms, which tend to 100 m p.h. winds and can last for two or three days. Commented Bellamy: "It is generally negative—it is a long shot." But the town is more optimistic, and the municipality has already set up a committee to pick a permanent site for the trees.

—DAVID HENNING in St. Thomas, Ont.

COMPUTERS

Chasing high-tech thieves

The calls were becoming a nuisance. Someone had managed to gain access by telephone to an Alberta company's computer system and was tampering with its files. The same sort of unauthorized access is disrupting computer systems throughout the continent. In most cases, investigators never find out who is gaining access to a computer's information bank. But in the case of the Alberta insurance, the police had more success. With the help of Bell Canada and its tracing techniques, they located the source of the malicious calls—a computer terminal on the campus of an Ontario university. Investigating officers spoke to a student but have delayed issuing charges while they look into the possibility that others were involved.

Increasingly, police are gaining confidence that the standard telephone tap techniques they have used to solve other crimes will help to successfully combat the worrisome new phenomenon of unauthorized computer access. Last month in Washington a Federal Bureau of Investigation court affidavit in support of a search warrant revealed that the agency was using a "trap and trace" method to track down intruders who used the telephone to reach the electronic mail of 18 federal clients, including the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Coca-Cola U.S.A. The FBI technique, which the affidavit allowed investigators to identify the source and times of the intrusions, had so far narrowed the search to 16 locations around the country. Said FBI spokesman James Hall: "It is the same technique basically as when you have a tap on the line for a kidnapping case."

In Canada telephone companies occasionally do the same kind of tracing for their customers or for police when they suspect dishonest tampering with a computer system. But John Darby, head of security for BNL Canada, said he suspects that many companies do not have an expert unauthorized computer access to police for fear of losing their customers. Instead, many such companies are turning to consulting firms such as the Toronto-based Corbman Computer

Security Inc. for advice on improving security. Corbman President Colin Ross said that computer intruders would never have become a problem if organizations had established proper access controls to their systems in the first place. Darby agrees: "The data telecommunications network is like the street leading to the bank," he said. "You have to make the bank more secure, not the street."

Security measures range from issuing users one password, to requiring that they answer elaborate personal questions each time they sign in at a terminal. But only a minority of computer installations—about 10 per cent, Ross estimated—has "very severe" safeguards against outside misuse. While the federal government is not relying on companies alone to solve the problem by making their own systems invulnerable, it is still not illegal to gain access to a computer without authorization, said Justice Minister Mark MacGillivray recently and that he plans to introduce such legislation during the session of Parliament. With security tightening and penalties increasing, the stakes are getting higher for the "hackers"—the mischievous young computer addicts who break into systems just to show that they can do it—and the genuine computer criminals who are.

—PATRICIA HIGHTON in Toronto.

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EDUCATION

Guaranteeing jobs to grads

North American colleges and universities, least by defining revenues and enrolling costs, have been forced to slink down from the ivory tower. Balance sheets in hand, they have turned increasingly to sophisticated marketing techniques to attract more students. This fall, for the first time, The Brown Mackie College in Rahwa, Kan., a 91-year-old business school, used a unique selling technique: a money-back guarantee for a job.

Brown Mackie's job record is also impressive. Located in rural Kansas, the school last year placed 89.9 per cent of its 171 graduates on programs ranging from fashion merchandising to court reporting. Dean of Instruction Earl Edwards attributes the success to an instructional program that utilizes businesspersons on advisory boards. Explained Edwards: "Traditionally, academics set curriculum. Our way keeps the faculty involved with the real world and the people we are trying to train for." In order to claim a tuition refund of \$1,800 (U.S.) per semester, students must prove that they have been made and available for work.

No Canadian community colleges are offering guarantees currently, although several have indicated that they might consider the scheme. Bud Marilyn Daye, director of information services at Scarborough's Centennial College: "Last year 78 per cent of graduates in the Ontario community college system had found jobs. The year before, the number was 90 per cent, so the momentum is obviously affecting us." But Holland College, a business school in Charlottetown, has managed to continue to place 85 per cent of its 806 full-time students. In Alberta, Lethbridge Community College boasts an 85-per-cent placement rate for its graduates.

It is not likely that Canada's community colleges will soon adopt the money-back scheme. For one thing, almost all of them are turning applicants away. And with their emphasis on practical training programs focused on future jobs, most business-oriented colleges are so far perching their graduates in work. For their part, Brown Mackie officials are satisfied with their experiment. Said Edwards: "We feel this is the highest form of educational accountability you can get."

—MARGARET CAMERON in Toronto

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MUSIC

Nova Scotia's new symphony

It was a black day for the arts in the Maritime provinces when, on Sept. 28, 1982, the Atlantic Symphony Orchestra folded under the weight of debt. Its 88 full-time musicians were as shocked as its fans to hear that the ASO, with a 14-year history of touring a region in which violence was more readily identified as folk art, could no longer support a running deficit of \$400,000. Now, after one year of behind-the-scenes operations, the Halifax cultural community is celebrating the birth of a new symphony. With a benefit performance on Nov. 26, Symphony Nova Scotia will begin what could be a prosperous first season. Said 20th board president Bruce Flemming: "It is very, very important that people not hold back and see what is going to happen to the symphony. If they do that, they run the risk of not having an orchestra for the next number of years."

Flemming, a 44-year-old corporate vice president and former police adviser to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, says that the new symphony will learn from its predecessor's mistakes by appealing to a larger audience. Leading that campaign will be new artistic adviser Boris Brott, who also serves as music director of the Hamilton Philharmonic and as artistic director of the Stratford Music Festival. Brott, 35, gained popular support for the Hamilton, Ont., symphony by taking it, along with Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, into steel mills, parks and schools, and Halifaxians are hopeful that Brott's magic will work in their city.

In addition to casting a wider net, the new symphony will carry a smaller payroll in its first year. The orchestra will permanently employ a core group of only 34 musicians but it will hire more, if necessary, for limited engagements. The symphony also will avoid expensive regional tours in its early years.

For the 1983-84 season Brott has scheduled a strong "pops" series in addition to classical and chamber music. While the artistic program is set, the fund-raising is still falling into place. The Nova Scotia government has donated \$250,000 for the season, and the 10-member board of directors has made a commitment to raise \$260,000 in the next year. However, the Canada Council is still debating the size of its donation. For his part, Brott brings a good measure of optimism. Says Brott: "There is no doubt in my mind that there is going to be enormous support for orchestral music in the community."

—MICHAEL CLUGSTON in Halifax



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COMPUTER-AGE TRAVELLERS

Computer-age travellers

The pilot of the Boeing 737 was listening to the reassuring beep of navigation instruments in Morse code and the drone of weather reports on his headphones when a loud buzzing suddenly drowned out the sounds. He removed his headset, went back into the passenger area to investigate and found several travellers engaged in an electronic point game. The pilot switched the machine off and returned to the cockpit, where he was referred to discover that his reception was clear again. Incidents like that are, aboard a flight heading into Chicago's busy O'Hare airport in 1980, convinced the North American aviation industry to put severe restrictions on passengers' use of electronic games and portable computers in flight. But now an increasing number of complaints from computer-equipped travellers, combined with technical improvements in newer equipment, has convinced the industry to rethink those restrictions.

Battery-powered computers came out on the North American market only three years ago, when Osborne Computer Corp. introduced the first model. But they quickly became popular, and since then a variety of manufacturers have sold hundreds of thousands of units. Because of the increased use of portable computers by travellers, Air Canada has joined several U.S. carriers in asking for a study of the problems that new-model computers pose to commercial aircraft. The airlines recently asked a Washington, D.C.-based private organization, the Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics, to produce guidelines on acceptable levels of interference. Stuart Markhead, Air Canada's manager of passenger engineering, said that once reliable standards are set, "the computer manufacturers could tell us whether or flight attendants would know immediately whether a device was acceptable."

Markhead said that he has records of several incidents, like the one in Chicago, in which a passenger's electronic device appeared to have interfered with navigational equipment. Federal regulations in Canada and the United States caution against the operation of portable computers in flight, and at least one carrier, Eastern Airlines, bans their use outright. But Air Canada relies on asking individual passengers not to use them. Air Canada and other airlines also discourage or forbid the use of portable telephones, televisions, walkie-talkies, electronic games and radios, but allow heart pacemakers, hear-

ing aids, electric razors and hand-held calculators.

If the Washington agency does not produce the guidelines quickly, Markhead said Air Canada will consider approving computers that use a low-power liquid crystal display, similar to displays on some digital watches. He said tests in Air Canada labs have

shown that outside radio tube displays, which resemble television screens and use high voltages, can interfere with navigational receivers. For its part, CP Air is offering wall-tooled videogames on many of its flights, but will not allow passengers to use their own games.

For the growing legion of portable computer users, the chances of getting permission to switch on in midair are clearly improving. "We do not feel too concerned about the safety aspect," Markhead said. "I am sure we can come up with a form of approval for some kinds of portable computers."

—ROBERT BLACK in Toronto

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LAW

A push for scholars

With an average 2,000 new law-graduates every year, many with little hope of finding jobs, Canadian law schools have been under pressure from provincial law societies to reduce the numbers. Recently, a new report, called *Law and Learning*, added fuel to the controversy. The two-year study, by a group of legal experts headed by Prof. Harry Arthurs of Toronto's Osgoode Hall School, concluded that lawyers are both overeducated and undereducated, trained too well for day-to-day tasks, such as drawing up mortgages, which paraprofessionals now perform, and yet not educated broadly enough to deal with such pressing needs as legal reform. Early next month lawyers and legal educators from across Canada will meet

Canadian law schools emphasize the teaching of legal codes but they 'ignore or denigrate' the scholarly approach

in Ottawa to debate the report and its recommendations. Stud Merring Fraser, one of the contributors to the report and former dean of the University of Victoria's law school, "It is a question of moving to a broader analysis of the law in society."

Currently, the legal group says, most law schools emphasize the teaching of doctrine. But the institutions "ignore or denigrate" the scholarly approach to law. As a result, Canadian law students tend to graduate toward courses that they think will prepare them for practice and, as a result, they fail to develop the research skills needed for law reform. To rectify the situation, the report's most controversial recommendation suggests that law schools split into two streams: academic and professional. Stud Arthurs: "It might appear odd to some people in an allegedly crowded market because it would generate a national student constituency for law teachers with scholarly interests."

Most law professors agree that schools need to inject more scholarly content into their curricula and make learning for its own sake more attrac-

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line. But the report's strong words and some of its recommendations have upset members of the legal establishment. Some professors believe that a two-tiered system would create first- and second-class lawyers. What is more, since most law schools in the country have only been associated with universities for 30 years, Michael Trebilcock, who heads the University of Toronto's Law and Economics program, fears that the streams would reverse their achievement. "It would mean going back in time," said Trebilcock, "and turning two-thirds of each law school into a trade school."

Making the transition from practical to scholarly may also be hampered by a shortage of Canadian legal resources. Explained Edward Verch, dean of the University of New Brunswick's law school: "In the United States there was a great flow of legal writing in the 1950s and 1960s. We have not been able to do the same thing despite having similar educational structures." Adds Trebilcock: "It has only been in the past 10 years that competent texts in many basic areas of Canadian law have even emerged." Many schools would also find it financially expensive to implement the proposals. Said Peter Burns, dean of the University of British Columbia law school: "We have to be realistic. In British Columbia we are under tremendous pressure." Last year, for example, students at the University of Toronto voted to pay an additional \$10 a year in tuition in order to maintain the upkeep of the law library.

But there are interim measures that might ease the transition easier. One solution is to introduce more so-called "clinical" teaching. Instead of the traditional method of extracting and teaching rules from particular cases, some legal educators suggest that schools combine an exploration of legality with a broader social perspective. Said William Charles, dean of Dalhousie University's law school: "Hopefully, the clinical method will raise ethical considerations." Adds John McLaren, dean of law at the University of Calgary and chairman of next month's conference in Ottawa: "Clinical education is the best bridge the gap."

Still, the report has caused some rethinking. At one time, the report has influenced the law faculty to seriously consider an honors program that would hone research skills without splitting the school into two parts. But for the moment at least, change will not occur quickly. Said Arthur: "It requires the building up of graduate schools and research facilities." It will also require a profound change in existing legal attitudes.

—SCOTT BLUMBERG in Toronto



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Apprenticeship to power

A VERY PUBLIC LIFE, VOL. I

By Paul Martin
(Gems Publishers, 476 pages, \$24.95)

In the first volume of his projected two-volume autobiography, Paul Martin, the veteran Liberal MP, cabinet minister and diplomat, tells of a 1950 encounter with Sir Robert Borden. The elderly former prime minister was seated at a hotel desk framed with two lions at various official functions. "If I were Mackenzie King, I would tell those cards with a red ribbon and put them in my archives," he said. "But I am not Mackenzie King." With that, he immediately swept them into the trash bin. That scrupulous detail in *A Very Public Life* proves that, in saving bits of paper, Martin is obviously more of a King man than a Borden man.

The initial memoir does not recount Martin's illustrious career as a senior public figure. He will chronicle that part of his life in the second instalment, picking up the thread in 1947. Instead, the first volume painstakingly documents a less prominent and powerful

public man. Despite a certain long-winded staidness, the recollections are genuinely affecting, and there is much that is historically valuable.

Born in Ottawa in 1903 and raised in Pembroke, Ont., Martin was the small-town boy who made good, graduating from Osgoode Hall Law School, then Harvard and Cambridge. His first foray into politics as the Liberal candidate in a 1930 by-election in North Kentville ended in defeat. Later, in a rising lawyer, he moved to just outside Windsor, Ont., an area that he still saw as a place where he was going to make his money.

By the time he was elected to the Commons in 1932 for Essex East, he had acquired a knowledge of labor problems which served him well politically.

When he entered the Commons, Martin was relatively far to the left of the Liberal party. He recalls that King "did

not give the appearance of being in command of political events" and that there was no indication "that the party leadership was about to adopt the views [Martin] espoused." But by the 1930s Martin appeared more lapidary than progressive, as image that his trademark blue suits and formal style helped to foster even though his ideas had not changed. Throughout the memoirs it becomes apparent that Martin was really a liberal politician with a conservative personality.

The same man who continually supported labor concerns was offended at the site of the famous manuscript golf pace, the cheery public statue in Bronson. Unfortunately, the book barely acknowledges, much less explains, that disquieting in Martin's personality. Indeed, throughout his highly detailed recollections, Martin consistently resents, but never actually describes, his inner life.

For all his desire to not dwell on early days fully, Martin seems it a heavy burden to go on to the second volume. Those looking for insight into important political matters will undoubtedly share that experience. —DOUG FORTHELM



Martin can hold detail

A rebel's disputed hanging

RIEL AND THE REBELLION

1869-1870 REBELLION

By Thomas Flanagan
(Western Producer, 177 pages, \$18.95 hard-cover, \$10.95 soft-cover)

Ever since Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald approved in the execution of Louis Riel in 1885, the Métis leader has been a source of intense controversy. In recent decades many historians have argued that Riel was a maligned figure and they have praised his bravery, idealism and dedication to his people. Edmonton Independent MP William Yorko has introduced a private member's bill in the Commons, proposing to grant Riel a posthumous pardon. According to a brief presented to the federal cabinet by the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, Riel "committed no illegal act." The federal government is still entertaining discussion on a pardon, but the man Flanagan, a political scientist at the University of Calgary, opposes it strongly. In his polemical *Riel and the Rebellion, 1869-1870*, Flanagan accuses Riel of "self-seeking venality" and he claims that he "got what he deserved, a traitor's death."

Flanagan should know his subject well. Not only has he edited Riel's diaries and poetry, but he has also written a biographical study focusing on Riel's unorthodox religious doctrines. He has also had new look in an analysis of the rebellion of 1880, when Riel captured the Métis and led a north of Saskatchewan to revolt against the federal authorities. Riel even set up a provisional govern-

Unlike many historians, Thomas Flanagan feels that Métis leader Louis Riel received what he deserved

ment to negotiate with Ottawa. The rebellion had many causes, but the issue of land rights was basic. Riel believed that people of mixed blood were the rightful owners of the North-West Territory (which included present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan). He hoped to obtain provincial status for the region, whose residents were angry after years of domination by Eastern interests. When Riel arrived in Prince Albert in

1884, he found so much discontent that many white settlers witnessed him in an ally in their struggle for greater control over their own affairs.

Flanagan admits that Ottawa made errors of judgment in governing the region but he claims that the rebels had little reason to take up arms. By a blatant failure of historical imagination, he barely pauses to consider the bleak conditions that provoked the rebellion. Describing the scattered Indian agents as white communists, he speaks of "an unco-ordinated system of murder and pillage." And he neglects to observe that most of the Indian bands were weakened by disease, abused by settlers, civilised Indians and a sort of food that in 1884 a government agent had called them "mere skeletons." Flanagan relegates to a footnote a remarkable comment made by W.H. Brooks, a juror at Riel's trial. "He often remarked during the trial that we would like to have the minister of the interior in the prisoner's box." As well, he fails to prove the remainder of Brooks's sentence.

Charged with trying the Métis by his gross inept and callous indifference. Such suppression amounts to a translation of the evidence. So determined is Flanagan to display the Métis in a bad light that he condones them for showing "little sympathy for [the government's] problem of

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rule enforcement." But the rules of land
settlement and property ownership
were created on the other side of the
continent for the benefit of future
settlers belonging to another language
and religion. Flanagan seems irritated
by the Mittie's unwillingness to comply
with their own doom. Economic and so-
cial factors created by white race was
destroying the fabric of Mittie society,
and Riel's rebellion can be understood
only in the context of what Flanagan
himself, in *Lower "Canada" Riel, Prophet
of the New World*, an ardent, less
biased book, called "the annihilation of
his people's way of life."

Still, Riel was a flawed leader, ambig-
uous and perhaps despised by generally
and rightly. Flanagan demonstrates
with wit and what most previous writers
have preferred to gloss over: not only
did Riel want the government to give
land and money to the Mittie, but he also
asked for a large personal fee. But an
outburst of temper makes one not
wonder he deserved to hang. Even the
jury of white, English-speaking Pres-
byterian missionaries—a request
which the government ignored. As G.F.
Stanley, Riel's most thorough biog-
rapher, wrote, "That there might possibly
be mitigating circumstances, [that both
the Mittie and the Indians might have
legitimate grievances crying for remedy
was overlooked in the demand for ven-
geance against those who had slaugh-
tered white men in cold blood." Flana-
gan's book provides and proof that a
century after Riel's death the settlement

—MARK AUBLEY

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- 6 *Changes, Steel* (2)
- 7 *The Wicked Day, Stewart* (2)
- 8 *An Engagement, McEwan, Flanagan* (2)
- 9 *The Selection of Peter R. Jackson* (2)

Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence, Peters and Waterman Jr.* (3)
- 2 *The Best of James Bayley, Norwell* (2)
- 3 *On Wings of Eagles, Fuller* (2)
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"Gulf Canada offers six suggestions to help get Canada going again."

John Stoik
President and Chief Executive Officer,
Gulf Canada Limited

Canada seems to be emerging slowly from the worst recession since the Great Depression. Some of our recent economic woes were part of a world-wide pattern. Many were self-inflicted, or at least worsened by economic policies we chose to pursue. These policies were all too often the product of confrontation instead of consultation among the key groups — government, labour and business.

Now, while the memories of the human suffering and financial hardship are still fresh in our minds, let us apply the lessons we have learned.

Surely business, government and labour can agree on the components of a program that will keep economic recovery moving and, equally important, help keep us from getting into trouble again.



John Stoik

The Macdonald Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada is in the process of developing a long-range comprehensive economic development policy for Canada. But the implementation of policies deriving from the Commission report is several years away.

At Gulf Canada, we believe that government, labour and business can agree now on components for an immediate post-recessionary economic renewal program. Here are six suggestions:

1. Recognize that Canada is a trading nation.

We are a trading nation in a world that is becoming increasingly competitive. Almost 30 percent of our Gross National Product is generated by exports to other nations.

We are also becoming increasingly interdependent with many other countries, largely because we have adopted the policy of reduced import tariffs under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

With greater openness comes increased competition and industrial dislocation. During a time of economic recession this has made protectionism look more appealing. But when you build walls to protect yourself against aggressive competitors, you can end up living in a self-made prison. In this sort of international environment it is critical that Canada improve its trade and investment relations.

2. Encourage productivity growth.

More liberal trade arrangements mean greater competition and hence improvements in efficiency. Yet from 1973 to 1981, Canadian productivity gains were at the bottom of a list of 31 nations, a sad performance for a trading nation.

Clearly, the productivity problem is more complex than simply admonishing Canadians to work harder.

It takes a well-trained labour force combined with sound management and modern production facilities to create a strong productivity perfor-

mance, to produce goods that are consistent with Canada's relative advantages and with the competitive markets we face.

The way in which the factors of production are brought together depends on the mix and priorities given to major policy initiatives including international trade, competition, labour, energy, financial and other policies, as well as a clear articulation of the size and role of the Government sector in economic affairs.

3. Encourage capital growth.

We need to encourage savings and investment. We also need to encourage foreign as well as domestic capital.

In recent years, investment from other countries has been discouraged by the uncertainties and unpredictable nature of our Foreign Investment Review Agency. At least that is how it is seen by many foreign investors.

To fully support a thriving economy and ensure its steady growth, Canadians will need investment help from other countries. And it is vital that foreign investors be reassured that we need and welcome their money.



Offshore in the Beaufort Sea are found offshore for rest and recreation after two weeks of work on the drill rig. It is hard work — but it is worth, and it pays well. Many thousands more jobs can be created if Gulf Canada and other members of the petroleum industry are given the right tax incentives and other financial incentives to invest in exploration. And when we find oil, everybody benefits.

4. Build on our strength in resources — particularly energy.

Canada has a great wealth of natural resources — especially in "the energy segment".

And the oil and gas industry, within the energy segment, has a massive resource base. What is more, there are markets in Canada for immediate production and nearby export markets should our discoveries exceed our needs.

In 1980, the industry was poised to realize some of these energy dreams constructive for Canada. In doing so, we would have been able to significantly soften the impact of the economic recession upon Canada. However, the industry's development plans were undermined by the National Energy Program.

To quote from a study published by the non-partisan C.D. Howe Institute:

"The NEP was introduced to Canadians as a solution to the nation's energy problems. It promised to unite Canadians and to make them prosper. In its first two years of existence, the NEP has proven to be a major disappointment. New energy challenges

are emerging that are quite different from those the NEP was designed to deal with... A reassessment of Canada's energy objectives is already overdue."

What can we do now to turn the petroleum industry around?

Gulf Canada's suggestions are detailed in another message of this series.

But to begin with, we must look beyond the current levels in world oil price and world oil supply and demand — look ahead to 1990 and to the year 2000.

Crude oil and natural gas will still be a vital percentage of the world's energy supply. There will be a need for Canadian oil and natural gas.

We have the resources to develop, the commitment to develop them, must be made today.

5. Recognize and utilize the strengths of the private sector.

The Federal Government says that it now recognizes and intends to use the strengths of the private sector.

The words are more conciliatory these days. Yet the government con-

tinues to change the rules in the middle of the game, particularly in matters concerning the oil and gas industry.

This further compounds the atmosphere of uncertainty in which the industry has had to operate since the introduction of the National Energy Program in 1980.

6. Restrain and control government sector growth.

The Federal Government's budget deficit widened to \$24.34 billion in the 1983 fiscal year ended March 31 from \$13.61 billion in the previous year, with the deficit for the current fiscal year now being estimated at \$31.2 billion. The need for restraint and control is self-evident.

The need for consultation.

We have noted earlier that many of the policies that contributed to our recent economic woes were the product of confrontation instead of consultation.

To maintain our current economic recovery — and to plan realistically and constructively for a world beyond economic recovery — we must foster genuine co-operation among business, government and labour.

To that end, Gulf Canada has proposed new approaches to three-way consultation and recently we have seen some encouraging initiatives including formation of the National Productivity Council. Without such genuine consultation, we may be doomed to go on spinning our wheels, missing opportunities and — at worst — reliving the experience of the last two years.

If you would like copies of a recent speech on this subject by John Stoik, President, Gulf Canada Limited, write to:

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GULF CANADA LIMITED

The Superman called Intrepid

INTERPRET'S LAST CASE

By William Stevenson
(*Norfolk House, 252 pages, \$22.95*)

North Americans want to believe in superheroes, men who can leap tall buildings, fight for justice and auto-spies. The Superman syndrome helps to explain the widespread interest in Sir William Stevenson, "The Man Called Intrepid." During the Second World War, Stevenson created British Security Operations, the United Kingdom's spy and counterespionage agency in the United States, in that role the Glendora businessman fought, the Nazis, co-operated with the FBI and the OSS and became a close friend of Winston Churchill. Now *Intrepid's Last Case* argues unconsciously that Stevenson was the crucial figure in the Igor Gouzenko case of 1945-46.

Gouzenko, who died last year, was a cipher clerk at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, who defected in September, 1945, with a stack of documents that proved irrefutably that the Soviets had been spying extensively on these war-time partners in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. An author William Stevenson explains, Intro-

352 entered the Gouzenko case when Canadian authorities, fearing and afraid of offending Joseph Stalin, were contemplating giving Gouzenko back to the Soviets. The book reveals how Intrepid took charge, arrested Gouzenko and his family to safety, and established close links of friendship and trust with the defector. But, for a variety of reasons, Intrepid was ultimately failed. Western governments in cover acted upon Gouzenko's fall evidence, which revealed the extent of Soviet espionage. As a result, Stevenson claims that North American authorities never managed to uncover many spies, nor did they counter successful spy disinformation operations.

Stevenson's tale is fascinating and might even be correct. But it is badly organized and poorly written, and the complicated story is difficult to believe because the author repeatedly gets simple facts wrong. Stevenson wrongly declares Lester Pearson to have been prime minister in 1950 and also US secretary general. Twice he describes the royal commission that took Gouzenko's testimony as "public" when it was held in secret. Dozens of such errors abound. These failings are more than compensated by the author's analagous efforts to make Intrepid appear omniscient. In Steven-

son's version of the case, when Canadian civil servants were slow to take the frightened Gouzenko in from the cold, Stevenson brought them to their senses by detailing the contents of Gouzenko's documents—before anyone had seen, read or translated them, and before anyone more familiar than a communications had even spoken to Gouzenko. Later, Stevenson says that after this show that there were hundreds of Soviet spies everywhere working for the government. Because the writer provides neither proof nor names, these innuendoes are the worst kind of Cold War case. As well, Stevenson suffers from one major kind of stupidity: Raging *Intrepid's Last Case* as a secret history of British Security Operations and Intrepid's secret files, he capriciously accepts everything Intrepid said, no matter how incongruous or partial the tale—even if other available evidence fails to corroborate it.

The result is a seriously flawed book. Unfortunately, Stevenson has supplied some new details on Gouzenko. But *Intrepid's Last Case* is far from a definitive account of the Gouzenko case, and it is a weak tribute to Sir William Stevenson. Intrepid may have been the Superman of the ages, but the new book is in deadly in its effect that it might have been fashioned out of brylcrem.

—J.L. GRANATSTEIN



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TELEVISION

Raging at the dying of the light

KING LEAR
CBC, Nov. 20

Every old man is a King Lear, Gouzenko once mused. A prediction which holds in that aside, but few old men can master the merle to carry out of Shakespeare's merlest dramas. Now, at 70, Laurence Olivier is just short of the age that Shakespeare intended his unloved king to be. In a landmark Orson Welles Television production, which received its North American premiere on the CBC on Nov. 20, Olivier provides a masterly interpretation of the tragic role. Rebroadcast from a period of infirmity, he senses the role with a subtlety that requires little acting. With a mane as grizzled as a roving king of the jungle, he bestows panache to Lear.

The setting is England in the Middle Ages. What really adds panache are scowls and terrors, with a still in the room that is a palpable enemy. In a of these barren bosoms of stone, a ring of cliffs before the abbatism Lear a map of his kingdom emboldened in topey. Speaking with a bombastic diction, he pokes at it with a stick like an archaic dagger. He makes a great moment that proves his undoing. In the reading of his daughter's will, he delivers his father's daughter, Cordelia, and divides his kingdom between his other daughters, Goneril and Regan, who then open him.

Olivier's evocation of Lear is utterly magnificent and it is the centerpiece of an amazingly well thought-out and produced play for television. Modern productions of Shakespeare's plays too often bore the audience. But this one does exactly the opposite. Every performance and every breath of speech is strong. Fortunately, the producers have only slightly shrilled, but not muffled, the text.

The vices in the vineyard of Lear's nobility better harvest are, as in Cordelia, his two eldest daughters. Daphne Tatum as Goneril glazes into the camera like a million porcupine, and her visage (Gouzenko) to freeze viewers to stuns. More difficult to fathom is the delicate but beautiful Regan, played by Diana Rigg. Her icy beauty and coldness of heart resemble Joan Collins against treacherously in a dark, scriptural (Lear). The most shattering episode in the play unfolds after the two have been lately locked up their patronage in the medieval pressures to money market accounts. Then, they



Olivier and Calder-Marshall: the forensic visage of an embattled old king

turn with a terrifying lack of pity upon their father to send him, carving, onto the stormy heath. Rigg starts the scene with a stately order to her steward: "Start up your dogs—and the old planks close shut with an eerie finality. Olivier's voice—sometimes rasping, occasionally broken with long-voiced artistry—perfectly expresses Lear's tragic madness and wrath. At last moment, maveric tears are almost morose.

King Lear is a tragedy almost devoid of consolation. Those who attempt to become cosseted—Lear's ally, the Earl of Gloucester (Gus McKerr), and most amusingly, the Fool, a role all too brief for John Hargrett's wryly satirical talent—only serve to deepen the pity. A critic suggested that throughout almost the sound of Gloucester's misery to better view the Frodo's manes that chains Lear. In the Granada production's only major flaw, director Michael Elliott underplays these parallels between Lear and Gloucester. Still, Elliott captures the death battle between Gloucester's bastard son, Edmund (Robert Lindsay), and his legitimate heir, Edgar (David Threlkeld), in a rough-and-tumble, realistic way. That scene mirrors the mythical clash between Goneril and Regan, who fight like snakes with a vital but thankless role—essentially that of a simplicitas. There, Olivier's years behind the footlights prove their worth. The simple line of bereavement—"Never, never, never, never, never"—glows with a majesty few actors attain in their careers. King Lear may be Olivier's valdostic star.

If it is, he ends with the ferocity of a lion whose years and circumstances have made years and circumstances have made years.

from Warner Brothers, into a tragedy notably bereft of playfulness.

ELiot's lavish production opens up the play with a magnificence unavailable in the stage. The close confines of Regan's narrow contrast sharply with the wildness of the winds and rain on the heath. These scenes and others create a sense of the times, although it was filmed entirely in a studio. Elliott's version leaves no resentment. That may play from again on videotape. It has brought the extravagant tragedy strangely to life with a regard for articulate speech that banishes the calcareous mumbled often overheard in old-style Shakespearean performances. The language peaks forth with pristine clarity.

And Olivier gnaws at the words like a ravenous beast at a bone. In the climax he dies quickly, after he staggers under the insupportable weight of his hanged daughter, Cordelia (Anna Calder-Marshall), who poignantly does what best she can with a vital but thankless role—essentially that of a simplicitas. There, Olivier's years behind the footlights prove their worth. The simple line of bereavement—"Never, never, never, never, never"—glows with a majesty few actors attain in their careers. King Lear may be Olivier's valdostic star.

If it is, he ends with the ferocity of a lion whose years and circumstances have made years and circumstances have made years.

—BILL MULLOY



Robards: a typical and undeniably powerful look at 'the death of deserts'

Life during nuclear wartime

THE DAY AFTER

AFC, Global and independent stations, Nov. 30

On the evening of Nov. 18 church and community groups will convene throughout the United States for study and support sessions about the effects of nuclear war—all under the title of *The Day After*. The following evening ABC will air *Global*, and some independent stations in Canada will televise *The Day After*, an already notorious, 3½-hour, made-for-TV movie. After its nine, 45-minute prelude, there will be no commercial interruption; sponsors are understandably reluctant to wedge their commercials into the mounting horrors of a depiction of the Third World War and its aftermath. *The Day After* is undeniably powerful and just as topical, but a *Love Boat* structure and a sentimentalism lessen its impact. The Second World War days of gallant Mr. Mitchev avert the ghastly seriousness of its theme.

In the prelude, love waits through the air one late summer day in the tranquil prairie town of Lawrence, Kan. A senior physician (Jason Robards) nuzzles his wife (Georgina Johnson) on a double bed. Other couples witness their passions and pay little heed to transverse television and radio reports of a bombing superpower clash along the shores of divided Germany. Suddenly, stark deep below the beautiful wheatfields of nearby Kansas, missile silos shoot their hexagonal caps to disperse a monstrous cargo-country heavyweights from seven-ajesty bedrooms, and children grow wide-eyed as lethal missiles

ascend as pillars of fire. At the same time, rival weapons from the frozen steppes of Siberia speed toward America's heartland. Then *The Day After* opens on 18 minutes of utterly savage footage of nuclear destruction.

The first blinding flash strikes automobiles on the freeway, bluffs send hydroplanes and confound the vast network of electronic communications. The frozen decade with the heat of apocalypse, changing casual shoppers into almost substantial X-rays before vaporizing them. Not even the promised ashes and dust remain. In 30 minutes the bustling and prosperous northern town is reduced back to the conditions of the 14th century when all of Europe reeled under the scourge of the Black Death. Parched families hole up in cellars with rifles and ration cards. Survivors, burned and bleeding from radiation poisoning, stalk the roads dotted in gray. When Jonathan Schell, in his antinuclear book *The Fate of the Earth*, calls "the death of death" total civilization.

Unfortunately, the use of unabashed sensuality as the cheapest attraction to the extinction of the species strangely trivializes the issue. But despite its weakness and vagueness, *The Day After* brings to attention a catastrophe most people would like to ignore. The film lacks the cohesion and daring of *Nuclear Special* (which aired earlier this year)—about as set of antinuclear lessons that resulted in a disaster. But its active message had the probability of mass television exists, and its projected wars.

—BILLY MACVIGAN

Urgent schemes for survival

When the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission ignored the advice of the television industry last year and licensed six pay-TV networks instead of one, it seemed that the jungle of the free market was preferable to the soft bed of monopoly. Media forecasters warned that splintering the small Canadian marketplace could prove disastrous, and so far the sad, nine-month history of pay television has borne out those predictions. CTV Channel 5, failed, and others, including the Atlantic regional network Star Channel and the national network First Choice Communications, are fighting for survival. Late last month First Choice sent the already jittery industry into an uproar by requesting speedy approval for an \$8.4-million bailout by a group of investors.

As First Choice representatives told a CRTC hearing in Hull, Que., last week, the cash-starved company needs an immediate transfusion. Declared First Choice lawyer Peter Grant: "If you look up the word 'impair' in the dictionary, you will find the First Choice logo." At week's end, the CRTC will not have delivered its verdict, but it seemed almost certain to approve the proposal. At Bellevue Palace, property of the wealthy Greenberg and Broadman families, heads the investor group, which plans next week's war through the industry. The loudest protests came from First Choice's main rival, Superchannel, owned by Edmontons affiliates Dr. Charles Allard. Although neither network has met its growth target, Superchannel, licensed respectively in Quebec and Ontario, has recently gained a larger market share at First Choice's expense. It threatens to emerge as an even stronger opponent to what is to be expanded into Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. Being a monopolist operator of regional licences. After trying unsuccessfully to delay last week's hearing, Superchannel now faces a much tougher battle, which experts predict could end in the death of one of the two networks within a year.

First Choice originally won the coveted national licence, in part because of what President Donald MacPherson called the "deep pockets" of its investors. But having invested about \$18 million to start First Choice and an additional \$2.6 million in shareholders' capital last summer, the owners appear to have quickly realised the business of their pockets they now own \$6.6 million, including a staggering \$3.4 million to Ca-

nadian producers. The new deal offers generous terms to the purchasers if they exercise all their options. Astral and related companies could end up with 68.8-percent control of First Choice, far an investment of about \$24 million.

Despite its financial difficulties, First Choice is an attractive investment for Astral, the country's largest independent film producer (Ponyo) and distributor. But because of the anticompetitive implications of the proposed takeover, a number of independent producers and distributors and industry associations object. They fear that Astral will inevitably become the dominant supplier to First Choice, both as the sole Canadian distributor for 80th Century Fox and as a major licensee of Canadian productions. Said filmmaker Allan King, representing the Canadian Association of Motion Picture Producers: "With this transaction, we are creating a major studio in Canada and we would only have one major Superchannel, which depends on Astral as a distributor of U.S. films and as a Canadian producer, fears the loss of a major supplier. Jon Elias, chairman of Superchannel's Ontario division, told the CRTC: "These events could jeopardize our survival."

On the other hand, about 30 Canadian film-makers, many of them members of First Choice, argued through written submissions to the CRTC that the demise of the network would severely jeopardize their survival. With roughly \$55 million invested or committed in Canadian productions, First Choice has provided a major stimulus to the beleaguered industry. In fact, First Choice overestimated its subscriber growth to such a degree that it overinvested in production and underperformed in marketing. The company tried to change this by launching a \$5-million advertising campaign this fall. Still, many Canadian producers, such as the highly respected PrimeTime Productions (*The Wenzel*), will likely go out of business if First Choice loses its prime time slots. Said PrimeTime's Pat Parris: "If First Choice goes under, it will drag a lot down with it."

For the moment, the fate of both First Choice and Superchannel rests in the hands of the CRTC. Superchannel will present its bid to become a national network at another CRTC hearing later this month. If it succeeds, the two networks will be competing in a national market that most experts say can only support a single service. Says Toronto communications consultant Paul Anfield: "Either the two networks will merge, or one of them will die." It is that one, the free market may well lead to a merger after all.

—GILLIAN MACLAY is Toronto, with Marilyn Rood in Ottawa.



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The National Ballet School Audition

When the Gottliebs entertain

By Allan Fotheringham

Marshall McLuhan and John Kenneth Galbraith have been described as the two most famous Canadians the United States has ever produced. The assumption, as always, is that a Canuck is a dull Canuck until he can be injected with some Yankee nerve. It is a conceit the Americans own and one that we usually accept. Official Washington, therefore, can't quite figure out what to make of Sandra Gottlieb, heir of Winnipeg, one of the shrewdest and sharper pen. Wives of Cana-

dergon. The author of two novels—one that made fun of her Jewish upbringing, the other dealing with a prime minister, sex, murder and intrigue in high diplomatic places—she first hit the headlines in Washington when she said that because no one paid any attention to Canada, "perhaps we should invade South Dakota or something." (A friend pointed out to her later that to invade South Dakota, Canada would need paratroopers.) The *New York Times* and The *Washington Post* want her poems and a syndicated "latter house" detailing her supposed innocence to so-

lids, cancer. No one in Washington knew there was caviar in Manitoba. (No one in Washington knew there was a Manitoba.) Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, a straight shooter, has the lean face of a result hand—as if he had wandered into the cockpit only to be accident. As a hobby, he buildings calves in rodeos. It undoubtedly is useful in the Reagan cabinet meetings.

Mag Greenfield, editorial page editor of the *Post* and owner of the back page of *Newsweek*, is petite and light-skinned. Robert McNamara, vigorous and fit at 67, wears black breeches with his tuxedo. After viewing the J.F.K. cabinet, Lyndon Johnson concluded that the smartest of the best and the brightest was "the guy with the windows on his hat." The slickest survivors. No obsession now a nuclear war. There is Kenneth Adelman, Reagan's new disarmament man. Richard Darvish, the gossipwriter to the Oval Office, has a mood charming wife Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, is northern, soft and confident. There is Senator John Hanna, television's Robert Blakey, an undersecretary of state, a few international travellers, state department types and enough

high-level gossip to fuel a Ross Barry.

David Winkley drops in for a drink but can't stay for dinner. He'll never know about the caviar—or Manitoba. Elizabeth Drew, The *New Yorker's* Washington correspondent, darts about in search of a nugget. Joseph Kraft, the syndicated columnist, does not have to dart.

Everyone in Washington wears black. A Canadian who wears a velvet bow tie with his tie is regarded oddly, as if he might just have fallen off his RCMP horse. A whirlwind of activity whenever she goes in Brenda Murry, John Turner's sister, who flitted down from Montreal for the party. There is William Rockefeller and Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board Paul Volcker. Ross Arledge, head of ABC News, who is trying to bully Peter Jennings into taking out U.S. censorship, wears black boots. Just an ordinary night at the Gottliebs. Not a single person wore a lampshade.

casualty friend "Poppy Terrible" has just had his debut. In a piece sent to the *Post*, Ms Gottlieb said she had discovered the basic rule for advancement in Washington: "Kick below, suck above." Allan Gottlieb, a former Rhodes Scholar who went to Oxford with John Turner and has the detached air of a professor, smiles quietly to himself and goes about the business of peering the press list.

This night, in the big clubhouse residence on Rock Creek Drive, a residence filled with gold-tipped trees opposite, a cup car on constant guard against terrorists parked outside, the occasion is to honor handsome Peter Jennings, a Canadian who has just been appointed an's sole ambassador, at a reported \$500,000, and A. Fotheringham of *Newsweek*, Sask Senator Patrick Mayhew, his white mane brushing his forehead, covers over all Kay Graham, owner of The *Washington Post*, looks like, well, like someone who would own The *Washington Post*. The guests are seated by the ropes filled with Man-



What goes on is that it is formal Washington, it is dull. The rules of behavior are written down like a papal bull. Everyone arrives at parties at the same time and everyone leaves at the same time (a party, since they must get up early and lead the Free World). Allan and Sandra Gottlieb, when they were in Ottawa, used to throw some of the best parties in town in their big Rockcliffe house because they used a Macmaster where, choosing the guest list, a menagerie of politicians who were witty (a scarce commodity), journalists who owned a tie and did not drink out of the flapper bowls, and a mixup of the several servants with the most interesting wares. By transferring the same simple recipe to Washington, the Gottliebs have hit town with a bang. A Winnipeg bang. Sandra, shortly after her arrival, turned to a man at one of her parties and asked, "And who are you?" Reginald Casper Weinberger: "I'm your guest of honor."

Such openness would spell doom for some Washington hostesses. Instead, they have created a sort of instant home for the perpetually wide-eyed Ms Gottlieb, who affects an air of constant confusion but actually is watching the world with the careful eye of a social. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southern News*.

Autumn Leaves.



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